

SOCIAL CHANGE AND BREDASDORP

SALOMÉ JEANETTE MEYER

THESIS SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT OF REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTERS
OF SOCIAL SCIENCES (SOCIAL WORK)

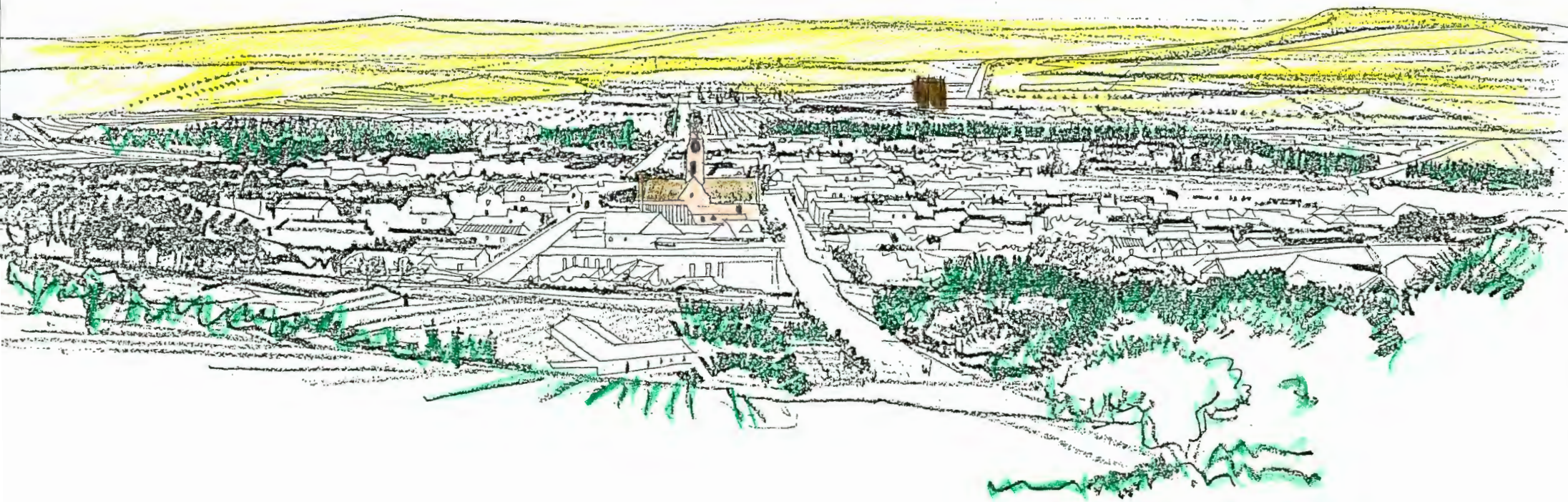
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BREIDALSDORP

"If I were to try to read much less answer, all the attacks made on me, this shop might as well be closed for any other business. I do the very best I know how - the very best I can ... If the end brings me out allright, what is said against me won't amount to anything. If the end brings me out wrong, ten angels swearing I was right would make no difference."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN (1866)

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to ascertain the effects of the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility on a rural town. Bredasdorp, the town in question, up until the announcement of the proposed Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility had developed historically on the basis of the natural needs and requirements of a rural community. Bredasdorp thus, provided services and facilities for its and the surrounding population as a natural growth point and service-centre for complimentary economic activities - mainly of an agricultural nature. The introduction of the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility impacted on the functioning of this local farming community. This study traces this social change on the various systems operating in the community

Specifically, this study looks on the areas of economic and social change as a result of demographic change in a community. It was hoped that the introduction of the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility would have long-term influences on the character, make-up and functioning of Bredasdorp as a rural town.

In-depth interviews were held with 30 old and new inhabitants of Bredasdorp to determine their attitudes with regard to the project as primary data. Documents such as census reports, Municipal and town planning reports, education related statistics, the Hey Committee report as well as official documents from Armscor were utilized for secondary data.

Findings indicate that Bredasdorp experienced a demographic growth as a result of the introduction of the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility. This demographic growth had a trickle-down effect on the infrastructure such as water reticulation, sewerage, housing, schools, business and community facilities. Adjustments were made by the various systems involved in the change process in order to accommodate the demographic change positively. The economic/militaristic development project at Bredasdorp can be seen as a positive influence on Bredasdorp and environs.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Bredasdorp is a small rural town situated in the Overberg region, approximately two hundred kilometers from Cape Town. A hundred and fifty years ago Bredasdorp was part of the farm Langefontein owned by Michiel van Breda who is regarded as the pioneer of the South African Merino wool industry¹.

Like all the other small towns in the area Bredasdorp served an important function to the local Merino and Grain farmers. It became the centre of their commercial and community activities. It also served the neighbouring fishing communities of Struisbaai and Kassiesbaai. Over the years Bredasdorp's population grew to a town of 5740 inhabitants in 1980. And, an estimated 7756 people lived in the rural areas, in and around Bredasdorp.

Bredasdorp district reflects a familiar Overberg rural scene where an ageing and decreasing white population and a relatively young coloured population are evident. Apart from the local authorities (Bredasdorp Municipality and Bredasdorp - Swellendam Divisional Council) and commerce, the agricultural sector is the main employer. This sector in 1980, accounted for 37,5% of the Gross Geographical Product (GGP) of the area with commerce in second position accounting for 15,3%².

Bredasdorp is linked with the national road between Cape Town and Port Elizabeth. A railwayline, the Bredasdorp - Van der Stel-network is used for commercial purposes only. During the summer months, Bredasdorp services the highly popular coastal towns on the Indian Ocean. These are Arniston, Struisbaai and L'Agulhas, as well as De Hoop Nature Reserve of the Cape Department of Nature and Environment Conservation.

In 1983 the South African Government announced that the Overberg Experimental Weapons Guidance Test and Evaluation Facility would be developed between Waenhuiskrans and Cape Infanta. Bredasdorp town was to serve as the main centre for this facility. In this connection the Hey Committee was appointed in May 1983, to investigate the environmental implications of the proposed experimental weapons, test and evaluation facility between Waenhuiskrans and Cape Infanta, Bredasdorp. There was widespread protest against this project. For instance, conservationists protested against the use of the coastal area. Their arguments were that the Southern Right Whale would stop breeding in the area because of missile activities. Also, fynbos plantations would be disturbed and damaged. Further, it was argued that the very existence of the De Hoop Nature Reserve was endangered. Farmers in the area claimed that their high-potential agricultural land, which is their main source of income, would be expropriated. Fishermen complained that they would loose some valuable fishing-area and Skihaven, a proposed beach resort, at the time, was threatened. The Bredasdorp residents warned that the character of the area would change because of the infusion of newcomers - one can only be classified as a true Bredasdorp person if one were born and bred there. All other people born elsewhere are newcomers and not easily accepted. Daily newspapers reported the story and local residents and interested parties elsewhere used the media to protest the introduction of this

facility. As expected, very little was said about the positive influence, if any, that the project might have on the area.

Be that as it may the Hey Commission concluded their investigation in November 1983 recommending that; "The coastal area between Waenhuiskrans and Cape Infanta is of importance to South Africa, not only for its scenic beauty and wildness, but also for purposes of both nature conservation and national security. The committee appreciates the difficult decision facing the ministers involved, but reiterates its unanimous view that, in this instance, multiple use of this diverse natural area as both a proclaimed nature reserve and a weapons test range, will be possible without undue prejudice to either cause, provided the conditions stipulated in this report are met and honoured"³.

The construction of the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility started in 1984. This project was divided into two phases: Initially, a short term or construction phase was envisaged and, secondly, an implementation or long term phase. Various construction companies, co-ordinated by the consulting engineers firm Watermeyer, Ledge, Piesold and Uhlman, (WLPU) were to be involved in the construction period of 4-5 years. Single quarters for 1156 black construction workers were built at Perdekamp, nearly 20 kilometers from Bredasdorp. Single, white, construction-workers were to be housed near Waenhuiskrans and married, white, construction-workers at Bredasdorp. The main construction period would be June 1985 - June 1988. It was estimated that during this period, approximately R750,000 per month would be generated for the town mainly from the earnings of the construction workers in the project, therefore, largely benefitting the business sector. The implementation phase was to be carried out by two participants; namely, Armscor and the South African Airforce. The planners

of the project argued that approximately 450 jobs would be created by these two organizations up to 1988. Of the 300 estimated jobs created by Armscor, half would be filled with highly trained specialists, who would be drawn mainly from outside the area. The other half would be recruited from the Bredasdorp environs. The workers of the South African Airforce would consist mainly of highly trained specialists from outside the Bredasdorp environs as well as approximately 50 National Servicemen

The Hey Committee (1983) in its report noted that, inter alia, the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility would have the following implications:

- " - The withdrawal of productive agricultural land for such use in future.
- The expropriation of privately owned land.
- The need for infrastructure for water, electricity, roads, an airfield and a firebrigade.
- The effect of township development in the area.
- The extension of the De Hoop Nature Reserve.
- A curtailment of the utilization of certain coastal areas for commercial fishing, angling and recreation.
- The higher safety risk to residents of the area, with a potential military target established in their midst.
- Permanent workers of Armscor, with the aid of subsidies, being placed in a position where they can be incorporated in the community as individuals and where they can bargain in the free market for their private needs.
- In so far as operational considerations allow, maximal use being made by Armscor of purchased basic services (vehicle maintenance, civil works, etc.) and goods in terms of the free marketing principle"⁴.

It is speculated and it is for this study to establish that these implications will have a direct impact on the area on four different levels, namely: demographic, social, economic and regional impact.⁵ These variables will form the research questions for this study.

1. DEMOGRAPHIC IMPACT

- 1.1 It is hypothesized, with regard to population size and composition, that a significant increase of Bredasdorp can be expected. An influx of young whites as a result of job specificity, will arrest the tendency of stagnation of the white population in particular. A higher per capita income for the coloured population due to an increase of job availability, will lead to a decrease of the coloured population group in the long run.
- 1.2 With regard to characteristics of the entire population the hypothesis is that a higher employment rate, an increase in income, (due to competition), educational and urbanization levels would result as a consequence of the established Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility.
- 1.3 The choice of settlement locations for the inhabitants of the area will be curtailed in that Skipskop, Ryspunt and Skihaven will no longer be available for residential purposes due to expropriation of land for safety purposes.

2. SOCIAL IMPACT

2.1 Living norms

The establishment of additional job opportunities by a reliable

employer within a relatively small rural community, should be regarded as a positive consequence. This will lead to a direct increase in the living standards of specifically the coloured employees. The opportunity of participation in housing subsidies, pension funds and medical aid schemes would bring many of these coloured people on 'par' with their fellow white colleagues. Increased incomes and influx of relatively highly remunerated professional and technical personnel will increase local business turnover and professional activities considerably. The housing scheme for coloured employees would also contribute positively to the housing shortage in the coloured area, and should therefore improve housing densities in this area.

The highly trained specialists will mainly be generated from more urbanized areas and will therefore have different levels of community aspirations and needs. This could lead to a longer period of adaptation to the new environment.

Bredasdorp is a predominantly Afrikaans-speaking community with a ratio of 9:1 Afrikaans to English-speaking people. The present ratio of Afrikaans to English-speaking Armscor personnel is 6:4. It could, therefore, be assumed that a similar ratio will apply in regard to personnel to be settled in Bredasdorp. English-speaking employees of Armscor, hence, could find it more difficult to be assimilated by the local community due to the predominance of Afrikaans-speaking people.

2.2 Community Services

Prior to the introduction of the Overberg Test and Evaluation

Facility, Bredasdorp's community services for the whites specifically, were sufficient to support the existing stagnating white community. Due to the apartheid policy, community facilities for the coloured population such as recreational and sport facilities, as well as educational facilities could not be compared with that of their white counterparts. The new styled approach of separate development as opposed to Verwoerdian Apartheid, as well as the new input of the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility will place new demands on the community services. Extensive additions may have to be made to existing services when the possible growth is taken into account. This would do to accommodate the physical as well as psychological needs of new and old inhabitants.

3. ECONOMIC IMPACT

The project, on the whole, should reinforce economic stability of the area in general. This can be done by a promotion of a more stable employment pattern, an increase in per capita income due to competition, flattening of the high dependency rate (70,1%) of the whites, and an increase of the value of fixed property and extension of marketing potential.

4. REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The fact that this project is located far from major population concentrations, should be welcomed, for national and spatial development. This is in agreement with the Government's regional development policy and should, therefore, hopefully boast the socio-economic development of the area.

The implications discussed, indicate, without doubt, that Bredasdorp is going to go through a process of change. The mere fact that there is a population increase through migration implies diffusion. When a population undergoes a great increase, social institutions and group relations change and when migration takes place, the diffusion rate is affected by the new social contacts in the environs.⁶ These are the variables that will constitute the research questions for this study.

MOTIVATION OF STUDY

Economic development projects provide an impetus for growth. Rapid growth of a rural town can lead to increased economic activity, increased demand on existing community services as well as for new ones, and social adjustments to new and diverse immigrating groups. These changes can either be regarded as positive or negative. Through planning and management of change the possible negative effects of change can be minimized while allowing for the enhancement of the positive effects.

According to Murdock in Weber et al, "Population growth is among the most publicized effects associated with major resource developments. This growth has direct and often dramatic impacts on local communities, it is the source of most major social changes and a major impetus to many types of economic changes. The extent of growth that may be expected to result from major resource development, the distribution of such growth among local communities, and the effects that such growth is likely to have on the characteristics of the local population are thus areas of paramount concern for impact researchers and policymakers."⁷

Bredasdorp was a peaceful country town until the Overberg Test and

Evaluation Facility was announced in 1983. The town is made up of an older generation, Afrikaans, white population and a young coloured community. Jobs are created mainly by the agricultural and service sector, and community services fulfil the basic needs of the community.

It is hypothesized that Bredasdorp will never be the same in terms of demographic, social and cultural structures after the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility has been introduced. Specifically, this study will look into the following:

1. The demographic increase according to age and race.
2. The implications that demographic increase will have on the different levels of the community, namely:
 - 2.1 Economic level: The Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility will change the employment structure of Bredasdorp.
 - 2.2 Community facilities will have to be extended to accommodate the increase.
 - 2.3 Social level: The general quiet atmosphere of this small rural Afrikaans town, will be affected.
 - 2.4 Regional development: The introduction of this Facility in the region will affect the socio-economic standard of the region.

LIMITATIONS OF STUDY

Impact Analysis implies measurement of attitudes and change at three stages, namely: before implementation, during implementation and after implementation of a project. Unfortunately measurement of attitude at all levels was not possible due to the fact that the researcher only became aware of the project after implementation had started. The study can, therefore, not be classified purely as an Impact Analysis but rather as a

descriptive study whose focus addresses the effects of the establishment of the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility on the community concerned. Further, the facility has not been in existence for that long to allow a rigorous empirical analysis of its effects. For that reason the study assumes largely a descriptive format describing change as perceived by the few individuals interviewed. The small sample of people interviewed does not render the study to extensive statistical analysis.

METHOD

Secondary data in the form of documents such as census reports and municipal and town planning reports will be utilized to obtain relevant data on Bredasdorp. Information on the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility will be obtained, amongst others, from the Hey Committee report and official documents from Armscor. Further, thirty key respondents in Bredasdorp will be interviewed to determine their attitudes with regard to the presence of the project. Of these thirty respondents, half will be old inhabitants and the other half newcomers to Bredasdorp.

PRESENTATION OF STUDY

Accordingly the presentation of this study will be as follows:

Chapter Two will take a brief overview of Bredasdorp from 1960 - 1980. A demographic analysis of the Bredasdorp district in terms of population size, composition, distribution, sex, age and employment structure will be made. The town's community facilities that existed in 1980 to serve the population will be described. Further, it will concentrate on the purpose and siting of the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility. An account of the proposed implementation of the facility in terms of manpower utilization

will be given. A theoretical explanation for the events occurring in Bredasdorp will be discussed in Chapter Three. Selected Theories on Social Change and Community Development will be used to form the basis of this discussion. From the information of the previous chapters, Chapter Four will analyse the expected impact that the facility will have on the community, in respect of demography and community facilities. In depth interviews with selected old inhabitants and newcomers will be described. The study will be concluded in Chapter Five with a discussion of recommendations and implications for social service practice for future developments.

NOTES

1. Dreyer, A., Eufees-Gedenkboek van Bredasdorp, Kaapstad : Nasionale Pers Bpk., 1938, p 1-14.
2. Hey-Committee, Report on the Environmental implications of the proposed experimental weapons test and evaluation facility between Waenhuiskrans and Cape Infanta, Bredasdorp, Cape Town: 1983.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Hedding, D., Glick, L., Introduction to Sociology, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Inc, 1976, p 399.
7. Weber, B.A., Howell, R.E., ed., Coping with Rapid Growth in Rural Communities, Boulder: Westview Press, 1982, p 63.

CHAPTER II

BREDASDORP: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

In order to understand the demographic impact adequately, inter alia, of the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility on Bredasdorp, it is necessary to study the demography and community facilities before the establishment of this facility. An analysis of demography in terms of population size, composition, distribution, sex and age reflects the past and can also be used to forecast the future. In this Chapter, the history and the establishment of the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility will be discussed. The information used for this analysis, is mainly obtained from Government publications such as census reports and various Government department reports.

PROLOGUE

The Khoi-khoi, first inhabitants of the Overberg (everything beyond the Hottentots-holland Mountain, between the Riviersonderend Mountain, the Langeberg range, and the sea; From Hangklip in the west, 'till where the power of the Honourable Company ends' in the east)¹, (see map A), provided slaughter stock for the early settlement in the Cape. Willem Adriaan van der Stel possessed several stock posts beyond these mountains after 1707. By 1745, when it was felt that the farthest farmers had moved too far from church, law and order, Swellendam was founded as 'de colonie in die verre geleegene districten'². In the eighteen-thirties the inhabitants of the

southern part of Swellendam, whose nearest churches lay at Caledon and Swellendam, urgently needed their own church. The farm, Langefontein was bought for £850 from Dirk Cornelius Odendaal for church purposes. On the 16th May 1838 the first plots were sold by public auction this establishing of Bredasdorp³. The selling of these plots included a proviso that no alcohol sales were to be permitted in the area. This proviso remained until 1970⁴. The town was named after Michiel van Breda who can be viewed as the main founder of the town⁵. The Dutch Reformed Church Committee was responsible for the religious and physical wellbeing of the inhabitants of the area. A Village Management Board was established on 30 September, 1881⁶. By virtue of its historic founding of Bredasdorp, the church remained the controlling body, if not de jure, certainly de facto, up until 1 January, 1921, with the transfer of deeds and titles⁷. In 1855 Bredasdorp obtained Magisterial status and Municipal status in February 1917⁸. In 1855 Bredasdorp obtained Magisterial status, and Municipal status in February 1917. Little is known about educational facilities before 1906, when the first schoolboard was appointed. The existing primary school was built in 1914 to serve the community. Bredasdorp region was and remains, an agricultural region where sheep, grainfarming and fishing were the main production units. A limestone industry was started in the nineteen twenties and still operates now. Its products are mainly exported for agricultural and building purposes. To further the interests of the regions' farmers, an agricultural union was started as early as 1899⁹.

Bredasdorp's prime function, as a town, was to serve the farming community of the region. The population for the Magisterial district in 1937 totalled 13,308 people.

THE PERIOD BETWEEN 1960 - 1980

1. POPULATION SIZE, COMPOSITION AND DISTRIBUTION.

The Bredasdorp Magisterial district had a population of 15,018 people in 1960, only 1710 people more than in 1937. The area showed a natural growth as no major development projects were established. Bredasdorp maintained its character as an agricultural district.

TABLE 1
BREDASDORP MAGISTERIAL DISTRICT POPULATION SIZE, COMPOSITION AND
DISTRIBUTION, 1960 - 1985

YEAR RACE	AREA	1960	1970	1980	1985
Whites	Urban	2901	2719	2857	3245
	Rural	2195	2020	1379	1244
	TOTAL	5096	4739	4236	4489
Coloureds	Urban	4370	5148	5990	6843
	Rural	4902	6583	6165	6385
	TOTAL	9272	11731	12155	13228
Asians	Urban	1	0	2	2
	Rural	0	3	1	1
	TOTAL	1	3	3	3
Blacks	Urban	134	98	95	84
	Rural	515	249	187	435
	TOTAL	649	347	282	519
Total	Urban	7406	7965	8944	8065
	Rural	7612	8855	7732	10174
	TOTAL	15018	16820	16676	18239

Source: RSA, Buro for Statistics., Population Census 6 September 1960, Vol 7, No.1 Pretoria: Government Printer, 1960, pp 3, 142, 278, 368.
 RSA, Dept of Statistics., Report No.02-05-08, Pretoria: 1970, pp 10, 147, 291, 408.
 RSA, Central Statistical Services., Report No.02-08-04, Pretoria: Government Printer, 1980, pp 10, 143, 276, 387.
 RSA, Central Statistical Services., Report No.02-85-01, Pretoria: Government Printer, 1985, p 26.

As shown in Table 1 the Bredasdorp Magisterial district showed by 1980 a total population of 16676. This indicates a 0,5% growth from 1960, but a -0,1% growth from 1970. In 1980, 72,89% of the total population were represented by coloureds and whites 25,40%. The number of blacks (1,69%) and asians (0,02%) was insignificant.

Until 1970 the majority of the population lived in the rural areas. However, the urban areas showed a positive growth of 1,2% from 1970 - 1980 against the negative growth of 1,3% for the rural areas over the same period.

Overall the white population of the Bredasdorp District showed a negative growth over twenty years, with an accelerated negative growth over the last decade. In contrast with the negative growth of the whites, coloureds showed a positive growth of 1,4% for the total area over twenty years. However, the last decade showed a growth of 0,4%. Urbanization and a sharp decline of the total fertility rate (6,72 in 1960, 5,58 in 1970 and 3,22 in 1980¹⁰) explain the decelerated growth from 1970 to 1980.

The total population of the Bredasdorp district in 1980 was more urbanized than in 1960. To identify the urban areas of the district, one has to look at the local authorities functioning in the area. Two municipalities, namely, Bredasdorp with a population of 5548 in 1980 and Napier with a population of 1689 exist. Smaller communities such as Elim, Pearly Beach, Struisbaai and Arniston fall under the jurisdiction of the Bredasdorp-Swellendam Divisional Council with a total population of 9407.

2. SEX DIFFERENTIATION

The male and female population of the Bredasdorp district are more or less equally distributed. The male population represented 52,43% of the total population in 1960, and 50,4% in 1980. This represents a decline of 1,96%. In contrast the female population showed an increase of 1,96% from 1960 to 1980 and represented 49,53% of the total population. Only for the white population are females more than males and they represented 51,02% of the total population. The black population on the other hand, consisted mainly of males (82,27% in 1980). There is no official residential area for blacks in the Bredasdorp Magisterial district. The high number of black males seen are mainly contract workers with temporary permission to reside in the area. A small number of black women who, under present law, are described as illegals, accompany the contract workers.

3. AGE STRUCTURE

Age structure of a community indicates the future growth of a population as well as the dependency rate of an area. The Bredasdorp district shows a typical rural phenomenon of an ageing white community and a much younger coloured community (Figures 1 and 2). In 1980 the 64+ age group of whites accounted for 17,49% of the Bredasdorp district's population. The figure for the RSA in that year was 7,9%. The age distribution of the Bredasdorp coloured population correspond closely to the age distribution of the total coloured population of the RSA. More than fifty percent of the population accounted for were in the 0-19 age group.

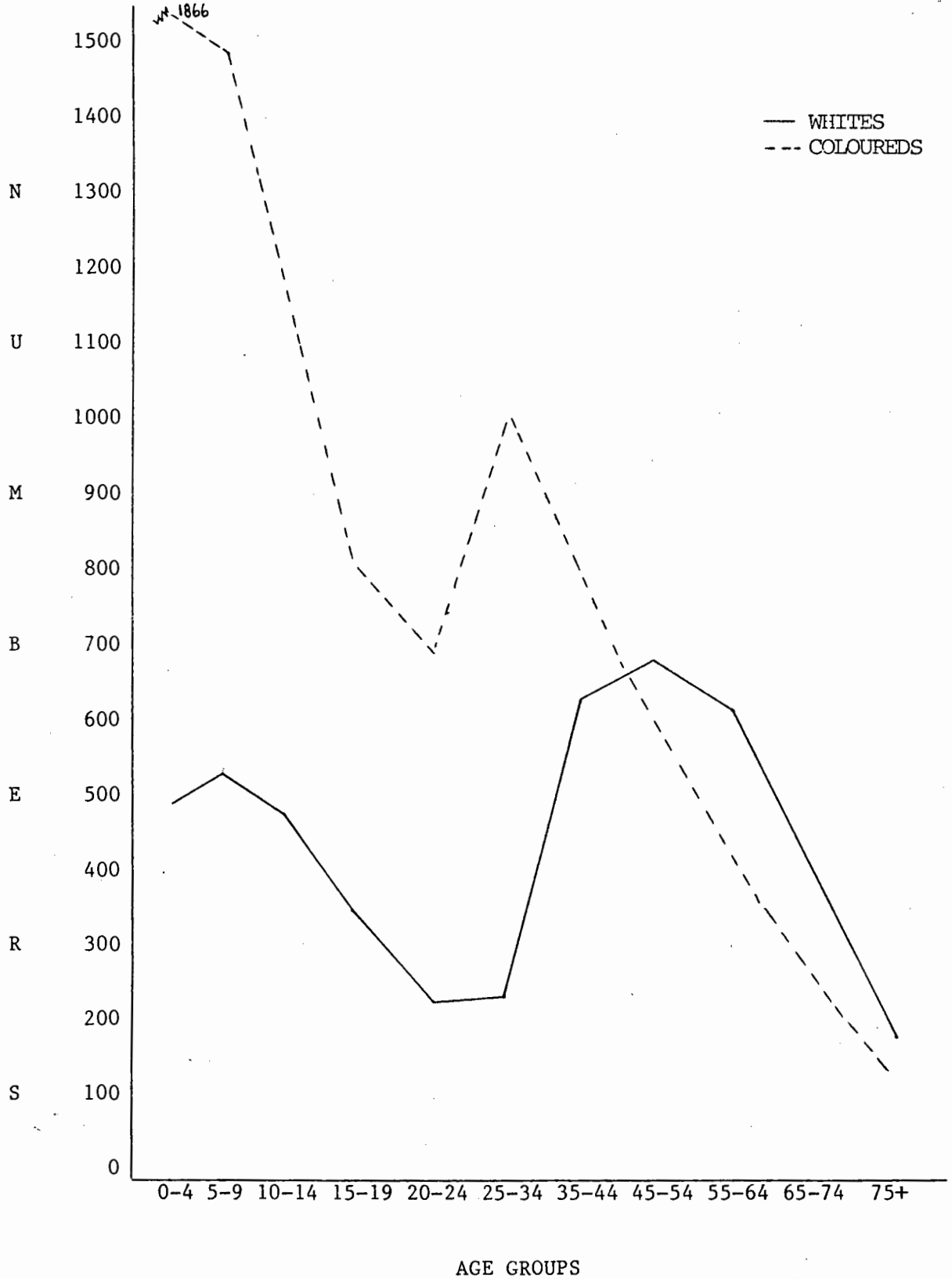
The majority of the young white children accounted for in 1980 were represented in the urban areas (14,14%), in contrast with the 22,96%

majority of rural coloured children. For the age group 15 - 64 the majority of whites were from the urban area, namely, (39,64%). The coloured population showed an even distribution, as well as for the pensioner group (65+). White pensioners resided more in the urban areas than in the rural areas. Facilities for white pensioners such as old age homes are provided in the urban areas. No facilities for coloured pensioners exist in the urban areas, and pensioners are still part of the extended family. They fulfil the role of daytime parents caring for the younger ones, whilst parents are working.

The white economically active age group (15-65) accounted for 61,38% of the population. An increase of 2,55% over twenty years. The coloured economically active group increased with 6,43% to 53,56% from 1960 to 1980. More jobs were now available in the urban areas than in the rural areas.

FIGURE 1

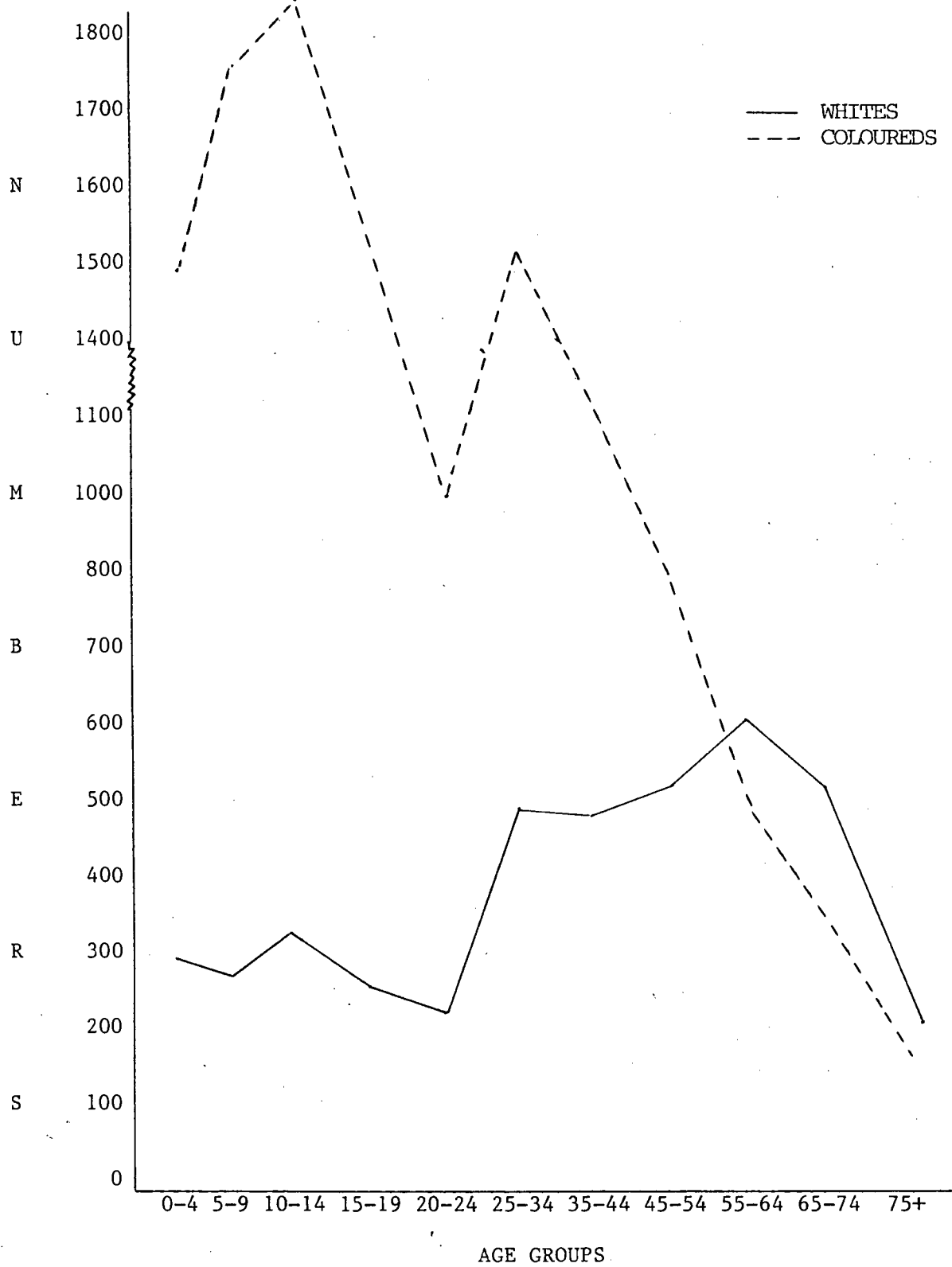
BREDASDORP MAGISTERIAL DISTRICT AGE STRUCTURE FOR WHITES AND COLOUREDS 1960



Source: RSA, Buro for Statistics., Population Census 6 September 1960, Vol 7, No 1, Pretoria: Government Printer, 1960, pp 2,142.

FIGURE 2

BREDASDORP MAGISTERIAL DISTRICT: AGE STRUCTURE FOR WHITES AND COLOUREDS 1980



Source: RSA, Central Statistical Services., Report No.02-80-04, Pretoria: Government Printer, 1980, pp 10,143.

4. ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

An analysis of the economic base of the Bredasdorp Magisterial District, as reflected by the gross geographical product for the area, showed the following production branches to contribute the most to the income of the district (1980) : Agriculture and Fishing (37,5%), Commerce (15,3%), Financing (11,8%), General Government (11,6%) and Transport (9,0%). All these production branches are proportionately higher than in the country as a whole¹¹. The employment of economically active people is closely related to that of the production branches (Table 2).

Agriculture is the main occupation followed by Services and Commerce. Employment for whites and coloureds were relatively evenly spread between most of the production branches. Commerce and Financing, however, showed a higher than two percent employment for the whites than coloureds. On the other hand, coloureds had a 2,12% higher employment percentage per race group for the Construction Sector. This indicates that whites were more represented in the white-collar group and coloureds more in the blue collar group. The economically inactive people represented more than 60% for both the racial groups. According to the age distribution of the Magisterial district, the potential labour force for whites was 61,38% and 53,56% for coloureds. This indicates an unemployment percentage of 5,62 for the whites and 15,54 for the coloureds in 1980. Modernization (capital intensification) in the agriculture sector is a cause of unemployment for many farm labourers. The economic recession of 1980 also is a contributing factor to the high unemployment rate amongst coloureds specifically.

TABLE 2

BREDASDORP MAGISTERIAL DISTRICT: EMPLOYMENT PER RACE GROUP AND PRODUCTION
BRANCH
1970 - 1980

PRODUCTION BRANCH	RACE	1970	%	1980	%
Agriculture	Whites	540	11,39	474	11,19
	Coloureds	1363	11,62	1529	12,58
Mining	Whites	9	0,19	12	0,28
	Coloureds	20	0,17	19	0,16
Manufacturing	Whites	25	0,53	48	1,13
	Coloureds	66	0,56	165	1,36
Electricity	Whites	2	0,04	3	0,07
	Coloureds	0	0	4	0,03
Construction	Whites	54	1,14	35	0,83
	Coloureds	482	4,11	358	2,95
Commerce	Whites	352	7,43	316	7,46
	Coloureds	396	3,38	431	3,55
Transport	Whites	104	2,19	106	2,50
	Coloureds	92	0,78	156	1,28
Financing	Whites	87	1,83	96	2,27
	Coloureds	9	0,08	18	0,15
Services	Whites	283	5,97	308	7,27
	Coloureds	940	8,01	1076	8,85
Economically inactive	Whites	3283	69,27	2838	67,00
	Coloureds	8363	71,29	8399	69,10
Total	Whites	4739	100	4236	100
	Coloureds	11731	100	12155	100

Source: RSA, Dept of Constitutional Development and Planning, The Overberg: A Socio-economic Regional Analysis, Pretoria: 1986, p 54.

5. COMMUNITY SERVICES

A community service can be described as that which is provided/given to a group of people linked together, to supply their needs. Different services fulfil various needs of people. These services can be described as follows:

- i. Local Government: The primary task of local government (municipality) is to provide the infrastructure for the community. This fulfills the communities' basic needs.
- ii. Education: This refers to the state of elevating the people of a community. It involves the systematic training and development of moral and intellectual faculties. This service can be compared with Maslow's second hierarchy level of psychological safety.
- iii. Religion and Service organization: Maslow¹² regards love and belonging as the third level of human need. Religious and service organizations in communities enhance these needs.
- iv. Culture and Sport organizations: These organizations exist in communities for the achievement of self-esteem.

These services are used by the people of the community according to their needs. It is the task of every service sector to provide adequately for the needs of its people. Bredasdorp developed as a town to serve the farming community of the district. The town developed with the main services such as churches, schools and businesses situated in the centre of the town. This trend is still relevant today in Bredasdorp. The nucleus is made up of business properties and service properties. The residential area developed around this nucleus. The paramount economic activity, which is mostly agricultural, is situated towards the east. The sector-theory of Homer Hoyt in Swart et al¹³ can be made applicable in the case of Bredasdorp. This theory indicates that towns develop according to sectors with the central business district as the nucleus and the development of higher class residential areas always moving away from the nucleus.

Industrial areas develop away from the central business district.

The development of the town in a linear fashion is influenced by the main transport routes serving the town. The nucleus providing all the economic needs of the community such as shops, financial institutions, medical and legal services are, therefore, easily accessible to the community.

While Bredasdorp is fully supplied with Municipal services such as water, sanitation, stormwater drainage, roads and electricity, the quality is not of a uniform nature. Housing in the white area are mainly privately owned. In the coloured community the higher socio-economic group such as businessmen and teachers own their own housing. Housing is also supplied for the workers of the Bredasdorp Napier Co-operation, Bredasdorp Municipality. Economic and sub-economic housing for coloured people are provided by the Bredasdorp Municipality. However, room density in these housing schemes are as high as 110.0% according to the Batson scale.¹⁴ This indicates a housing shortage specifically for the coloured people and the waiting list of the local authority supports these figures. A self-build scheme of the Department of local Government and Housing in the House of Representatives was launched early in 1987. Through this scheme many people now get the opportunity to provide homes for their own families. Armscor hopes to contribute positively to the elimination of the housing shortage in the coloured area by providing housing subsidies for their workers.

Preventative and curative health services are provided by the Divisional Council of Bredasdorp-Swellendam through clinics. Health inspectors of the Municipality are responsible for the control of environmental hygiene. The Otto du Plessis Provincial Hospital provides all hospital services to the

local community and the district. General practitioners, dentists and veterinarians provide specialized services.

A magistrate and magisterial courts operate in Bredasdorp. Lawyers specializing in the different aspects of law, provide specialized services for the community.

Several schools operate in Bredasdorp. The farming communities are provided with primary schools up to primary school level. In the earlier years the majority of farm schools were for white children. Today the picture is reversed mainly due to lack of boarding facilities for coloured children. A school bus services subsidised by Department of Education and Culture of the House of Representatives operates for coloured children of the area for schooling in Bredasdorp. Many of these children, however, have to walk as much as 10 km a day to the bus stop. Two primary schools operate in the coloured area. Both these schools were initially started by church groups and later taken over by the Government. These two schools are situated next to each other, and future plans are to incorporate them into one school. This movement can contribute positively to the schooling of coloured children in that the number of pupils would indicate more specialized facilities. The secondary school for coloureds showed an increase over the last years. This school provides boarding facilities for children of the Bredasdorp area. Extensive additions have been made to this school over the last five years to provide specialized schooling. A primary and high school, both with boarding facilities, service the white community. Due to the older population of the area, the schools stagnated in the seventies, resulting in a slow decline in the late seventies and early eighties. The schools in Bredasdorp provide not only basic education to the pupils, but also extra-mural activities, mainly sport and culture

orientated. The white schools have sport facilities such as rugby fields, tennis and netball courts and a swimmingpool. The coloured schools, however, have none of these facilities and utilise the sport fields of the Municipality in the coloured area. This facility is not enough to service all three schools as well as the community.

Several denominations function in Bredasdorp. Although Bredasdorp was initiated through the activities of the Dutch Reformed Church, the Anglican Church has the largest membership in the area. The churches over the years fulfilled an important part of the social well-being of the community through its various church-related activities.

Several service organizations such as Lions, Round Table, SANTA and Red Cross also provide extensive services to the communities through community involvement. Two welfare organizations functions namely, The Child Welfare Organization serving the coloured community, and the ACVV (Afrikaanse Christelike Vroue Vereniging) serving the white community. All these organizations are made up of community people who serve the community voluntarily.

Bredasdorp has a variety of cultural and sport organizations. These organizations have to provide services to its community in order to maintain the level of achievement and satisfaction with the environment. The Farmers' Society was the first business organization to be established. The Woman's Agricultural Union and Show Society underlines the importance of agriculture in the area. Apart from agriculture and church orientated organizations that set the trend of Bredasdorp in the earlier days, other organizations related to the specific environment and culture were established. The Museum Society is responsible for the maintenance of the

Bredasdorp Museum which includes the Shipwreck Museum. This tells the story of the coast along the most southern point of Africa. The existence of the Flower and Botanical Society seems logical if the nature-rich environment is taken into account.

The culture organizations in Bredasdorp services the white group only. A relations committee was initiated by the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning to better the relations between the white and coloured communities. Among the facilities provided two libraries, both in the coloured and white communities are operated by the Bredasdorp Municipality and fall under Cape Provincial Libraries.

Several sports clubs exist such as rugby, gholf, tennis, bowling, netball, squash and athletics. Facilities for the different races for these activities are mainly provided by the Municipality. The coloured community is only provided with a rugby field and tennis and netball courts. The famous Foot of Africa Marathon is an annual event presented by the athletic club of Bredasdorp for all marathon enthusiasts all over the country.

THE OVERBERG TEST AND EVALUATION FACILITY

In order to understand the possible impact of the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility, one has to comprehend the purpose of the facility. To develop a facility such as the above-mentioned, certain criteria had to be established in order to consider the site.

The South African Defence Force's main task it is argued, is to defend the country as a whole. Two aspects are involved, namely, manpower development and development of weapons. The development of a defence force is done by

the SADF itself. Development of suitable weapons is done by private companies such as Armscor, under contract. The Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility, a subsidiary of Armscor, was initiated as an experimental weapons guidance test and evaluation facility.

The development of new weapons systems is of necessity always a highly confidential matter, and in this case classified as "secret", which classification denotes a State Secret.

The concept of the experimental weapons guidance test and evaluation facility can, however, best be explained as follows:

- " - Tests are carried out where information must be gathered while an object, eg. a rocket, missile or projectile is in flight.
- Measurements are made under controlled conditions.
- The purpose of the tests is to determine the performance of weapon systems with respect to acquisition (lock-on), tracking, propulsion and aerodynamics, as well as to qualify design for physical conditions to be experienced in application.

Each test will be preceded by long periods of intensive planning and preparation. The short burst of activity during a test is followed by lengthy data reduction and evaluation procedures."¹⁵

The following types of tests were excluded from the above-mentioned tests, as appropriate and efficient test ranges have been established elsewhere:

- "(a) Testing and evaluation of vehicles, including tanks, armoured cars, trucks and self-propelled guns.
- (b) Detonation of munitions, eg. warheads, aerial bombs, bombs, mortars, land-mines, handgrenades and other explosive devices.

- (c) Underwater weapons, eg. mines, depth charges, torpedoes, explosives and sonar and associated underwater acoustic research projects.
- (d) All forms of military exercises and troop training."¹⁶

Highly specialized instrumentation and equipment is needed to conduct the above-mentioned specified tests. These include, inter alia, radars, high-speed cameras, meteorological measurement systems, computer- and communication systems. In order to utilize, support and maintain the above, an infrastructure must be established at some point on the site. The infrastructure will consist out of the following:

- basic infrastructure: water, roads, Escom power and emergency power,
- supportive infrastructure: office complex, medical and fire fighting facilities, laboratories and workshops and stores,
- specific infrastructure: launch positions and gun emplacements, observable target and recovery areas and runways and aircraft support facilities.

It is clear that extensive construction had to be done on site, to establish and maintain the abovementioned facility. At the same time highly specialized manpower was needed for this facility. It was estimated that the primary instrumentation and supportive infrastructure would exceed R200 million. While this is an indication of the importance of the facility, it is difficult to say with any great certainty what effects it will have on the economy of Bredasdorp in the long run.

It was of utmost importance that the site chosen for the establishment of the facility would have the least effect on the environment, or disruption of cultural, recreational or economic activities. The total investment of such a facility is mainly in the sophisticated equipment and infra-structure. For the utilization of this facility it was essential

that certain basic requirements had to be laid down. These requirements were set by Armscor.

The requirements that had to be reached were described as follows:

"1. TEST TERRAIN REQUIREMENTS

- Situated on the coast to provide for long range and sea-skimming missile tests (40 km \pm).
- Reasonably level and sufficiently large land areas for encompassing launch points, targets, safety and security buffer zones.
- Sparsely populated general area for safety considerations, eg. an area where there is minimum existing economic activity or township development to cause the least possible disruption and also to keep down the cost of the site.
- Proximate high ground, preferably an east to west mountain range in the background for instrument deployment and observation positions is essential. For work that has to be done far out at sea a high position of instrumentation is essential to increase the observation distance.
- An east to west orientation with the sea to the south. Air-to-air and other tests are carried out over the sea, mostly at high altitude. This allows maximum utilization of optical equipment with sunlight from behind in the southern hemisphere.
- Good visibility is required, extreme temperatures undesirable, high humidity and high wind velocities are undesirable, while precipitation and cloud coverage should be limited. Unpredictable fog would be a serious limitation.
- Low electromagnetic pollution in order to avoid disturbances to instrumentation and communication.

- Preferably of low agricultural potential.
- Minimum disturbance to the natural environment.
- An existing community infrastructure in the vicinity providing schools, churches, residential areas, recreation areas, shops, medical services, roads, power, railways, etc. should be accessible (eg. Bredasdorp).

2. SECURITY

A buffer zone is required for security reasons in order to protect against sabotage and maintain secrecy. Buffer zones impede hostile observation and provide for early warning against intruders especially from the sea.

3. SAFETY REQUIREMENTS

During tests the following areas are demarcated:

- The immediate area around the firing and launching position.
- The planned recovery area.
- The area on both sides of the trajectory of the missile where a small statistical chance does exist that someone could be injured¹⁷."

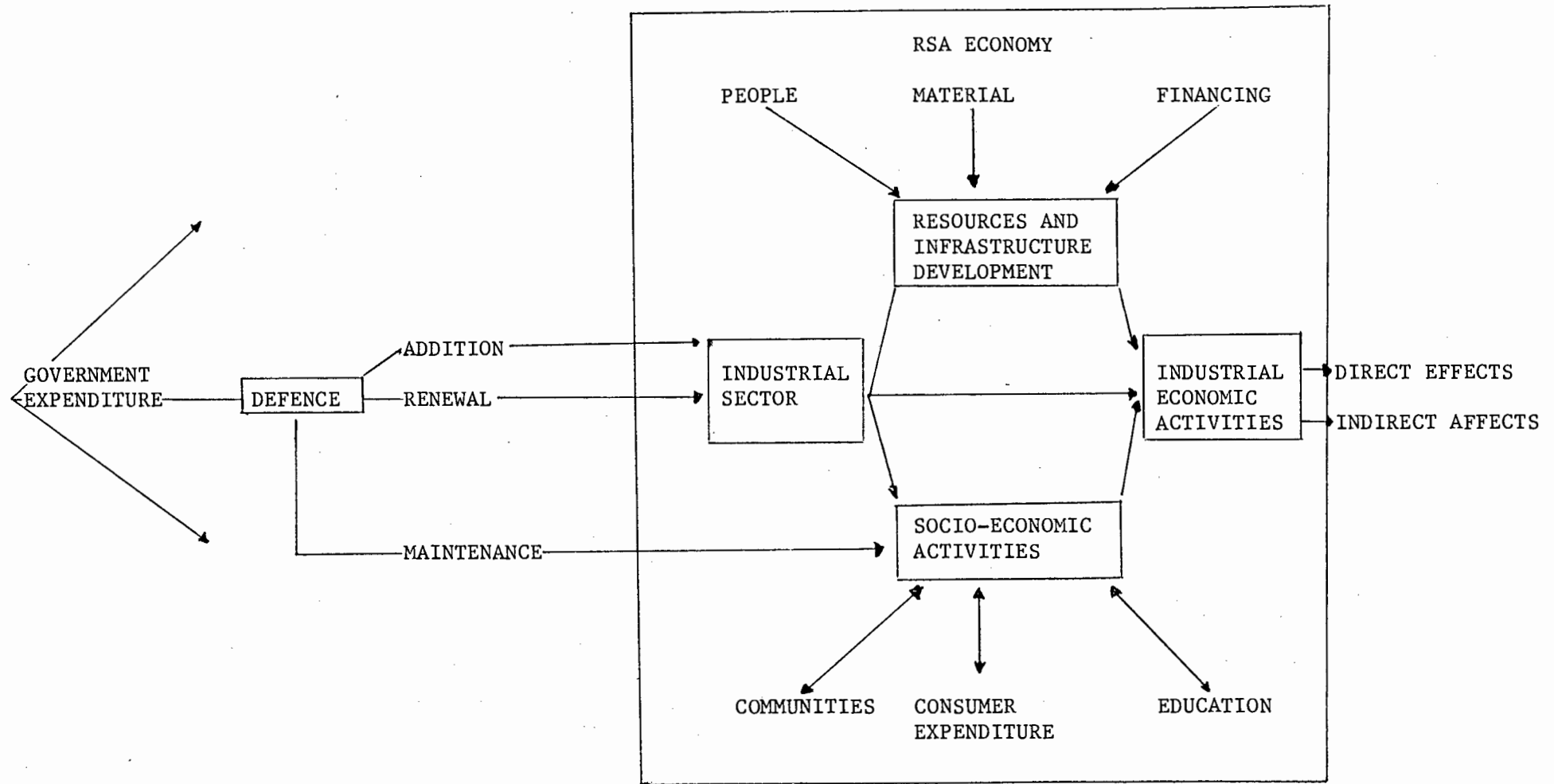
The above-mentioned requirements had to be met before a decision was made about the implementation of the facility. Armscor and the Department of Environmental Affairs, Mineral and Energy Affairs conducted extensive studies of the area. The Hey Commission (1983) was appointed to study the environmental implications of the proposed facility. Reports from interest groups and the public were also taken into consideration. After all reports and studies had been completed it was then possible to finalize the

proposed layout of the facility according to the various reports. The proposed layout of the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility is set out in Map B.

As indicated, the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility is closely linked with the South African Defence Force. Figure 3 illustrates the influence of defence expenditure on the South African economy. The Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility and the influence it will have on Bredasdorp, can be explained according to this figure. The introduction of the facility in Bredasdorp can be seen as an economic development project. The project can be divided into two phases, namely, the phase of renewal which is the construction of the facility and a short term phase; and the maintenance phase when implementation takes place and is a long term process.

FIGURE 3

THE INFLUENCE OF DEFENCE EXPENDITURE ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY



Source: Kruger, B., "Influence of Houwteq on the Overberg", Overberg Development Society's Annual General Meeting, Grabouw, 14 October 1987.

SHORT TERM PHASE

Various South African companies were to be involved in the construction of the site to fulfill the requirements and needs of a test and evaluation facility. Resource and infrastructure development had to be co-ordinated, and a Consulting Engineers firm Watermeyer, Ledge, Presold and Uhlman was appointed as the co-ordinators. Construction on site started in mid-1984 and will continue till July 1988. The black and coloured construction workers are housed at single construction workers' quarters for approximately 1100 workers. These quarters are situated at Perdekamp, about 20 km away from Bredasdorp. Basic needs of sheltering, food and entertainment are fulfilled by the provision of these quarters. For business activities the workers commute to Bredasdorp. Single white construction workers were housed closer to Waenhuiskrans and married white construction workers use the facilities available in Bredasdorp. The construction workers benefitted the business sector of Bredasdorp tremendously by adding approximately 2000 workers at peak construction, with income to spend in the community. It is estimated that during the peak construction period of June 1985 to June 1988, approximately R750 000 per month will be generated mainly from the earning of the construction workers.

However, various social problems usually accompany a large influx of construction workers. Single quarters for men normally pose problems of a socio-sexual nature, a situation caused by the absence of women and normal procedures/practices of socializing. Problems such as illegal squatting and dealing in alcohol and drugs can arise. This could lead to higher crime rates. White construction worker families do not have a sense of permanence due to uprooting of families everytime a job is finished.

Various welfare problems exist in these families and on the whole affect the families and community.

LONG TERM PHASE

The long term phase when implementation and maintenance takes place can be described as the heart of this project. This phase normally starts long before the short term phase when extensive planning has to be done. The Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility consists of Armscor and the South African Airforce. The introduction of these two participants to Bredasdorp will influence the socio-economic activity of the community.

Armscor estimates that about 300 job opportunities will be created up to 1988. Half of these jobs will be filled by highly trained specialists who will be drawn from outside the area. The other half will be recruited from the Bredasdorp environs. This category consists of artisans, security guards, cleaners and administrative personnel.

The South African Airforce taskforce will consist of approximately 150 people. The majority, 100 people, are permanent force specialists from outside the area. Fifty national servicemen will also be involved.

There can be no doubt that the introduction of this facility in Bredasdorp will have an effect on the demography of the town. The increase in population will result in a higher demand by the existing community for services such as housing, schools, and businesses. The Bredasdorp community is faced with a problem of change that will have to be addressed.

CONCLUSION

Bredasdorp was established in mid 1838 as a result of the extension of farming in the Overberg. Law and order had to be maintained and the farmers needed a church. The farmers of the Bredasdorp district under the guidance of Michiel van Breda required the establishment of a town. The purpose of this town was to serve the farmers of the district. Over the years the town of Bredasdorp grew to a town of 5 500 inhabitants. The population of the Bredasdorp Magisterial district, 16 676 in 1980, are mainly made up of 72% coloureds and 25% whites. The white population shows a negative growth over the last decade against the positive growth of the coloureds. Overall the total population showed a negative growth for the last ten years. This is an indication of stagnation of the area. The sexes are more or less equally distributed. White females outnumber the men and conversely for the coloureds. The Bredasdorp Magisterial district shows a typical rural phenomenon at an ageing white community and a young coloured community. The majority of economically active people were employed in the agricultural sector followed by services and commerce.

The community services developed over the years according to the needs of the community and its growth. The church, education, farmers' society and Municipality were from the first services to be established in the new community. Today a variety of culture, sport and service organizations operates. An adequate infrastructure is provided by the Municipality.

An adequate infrastructure is provided by the Municipality. However, a housing shortage and lack of specialized schooling and sport facilities in the coloured area, is a definite development problem which is a result of the Government's Apartheid policy of the last thirty years. With the

implementation of the Tricameral System there is, in theory, new hope that these needs of developing communities will be addressed positively.

The Overberg Test and Evaluation facility can be seen as an economical development project. This facility will consist out of two phases, namely the short term construction phase and the long term maintenance phase. The construction period of four years will result in an influx of nearly 2000 construction workers. This will benefit the economy of Bredasdorp in that more money will be generated. Armscor and the South African Airforce are both involved in the implementation and maintenance of the facility. These two participants will use highly trained specialists who will mainly be recruited elsewhere. This will lead to an increase in the population of Bredasdorp. The town's ageing white community with a negative growth will benefit mostly by this influx. The increase in population will result in a higher demand on the communities' available services. If the demand is higher than the supply, certain changes will have to be made to accommodate the new population adequately.

NOTES

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CHAPTER III

SELECTED THEORIES ON SOCIAL CHANGE

In order to describe change in a community, it is often necessary to base that discussion on a theoretical framework to explain the change observed. This chapter will deal briefly, with different theories of social change and mechanisms of change relevant to this study. Also, migration as a result of technological and economic development will be addressed especially because migration generates changes in a community on a demographic, economic and social service levels. These changes in a community can be regarded either as positive or negative. Finally, community development will be discussed as the management process aspect of social change.

Social change has been an integral part of existence since the creation of man, the reason being that no society is completely static. To conceptualize social change is not an easy task, however, Karl Popper in Vago reminds us that "... definitions are dogmas, only the conclusions drawn from them can afford us any new insight."¹

Vilfredo Pareto in Timasheff² described society as a system in equilibrium. This means that there exists within every society, forces to maintain the form the society has achieved or which guarantee even and uninterrupted change. The maintenance of equilibrium is therefore a dynamic process. Coetzee adds to the character of equilibrium by stating that "... change is seen as the process of adaptation of existing structures and patterns to

the variables not present during the traditional period of equilibrium.'³ Social change occurs in all societies as a continuous process. This is manifested by alterations in social relationships and structures. Moore describe social change as the 'significant alteration of social structures (i.e. of patterns of action and interaction) including consequences and manifestations of such structures embodied in norms (rules of conduct), values and cultural products and symbols.'⁴ Social change can, therefore, be described as progress, where progress indicates the social action that leads to a more satisfactory solution of the problems of man in society. The question of satisfaction by whose standards arises, which indicates an element of conflict. Services in Bredasdorp appeared to be adequate for whites before the introduction of the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility. However, community facilities in the coloured community cannot be compared with that of the white community. With the influx of white people to Bredasdorp, new demands will be placed on community facilities, that will possibly have to be extended. Community facilities in the coloured community will also have to be attended to. Provision is made in the new structural plan for Bredasdorp for these changes. Coelho underlines the conflict element of change by saying that 'change which occur on a societal scale disrupt the interperonal bonds and the institutional supports which provide the foundations for the development of the individual participation in the community'.⁵

Development is an important aspect of change because it involves the people of a society. There is an attempt by the Bredasdorp people to be involved in this process, as they are the people who can identify the changes occurring and acting according to the needs that arise as a result of change. Coelho goes further by saying that the challenge of adaptation lies not only in the individual learning of coping skills but also in the

function of societal arrangements for preserving and receiving institutions which ameliorate the management of life tasks.'⁶

Social change can therefore be described as a dynamic process of development.

Vago conceptualized change 'as the process of planned or unplanned qualitative or quantitative alterations in social phenomena, which can be depicted on a six-part continuum composed of interrelated analytical components of identity, level, duration, direction, magnitude, and rate of change.'⁷ Therefore, to establish the nature of social change it is important for one to ask certain questions, concerning the phenomenon of social change. These may be:

- What is changing,
- Why is it changing,
- Where will it take place,
- When is it going to happen and
- How long will it take?

The above questions may provide a hypothetical framework for the researcher to conceptualize change in a given community. Cohen in Bailey states further that 'we can only know ex post facto whether a change was significant or not.'⁸ And for this reason this study becomes pertinent and important to indicate whether or not there is possible change in Bredasdorp. A review of social change theories is pertinent in this regard and it must be stated that this will only be done at a cursory level for a basic understanding of the phenomenon of social change.

THEORIES ON SOCIAL CHANGE

Theories can be described as 'a network of interrupted hypothesis or propositions concerning a phenomenon or a set of phenomena.'⁹ However, theory enables the researcher to see implications and relationships in data obtained.

Several theories on social change were developed over the years, such as: Evolutionary theories, conflict theories, structural-functional theories and systems theories. Accordingly Cohen classifies these theories into those which concentrate on mechanisms which produce change, and those which predict the course of change.¹⁰

EVOLUTIONARY THEORIES

Sociologists of the 19th century, such as Comte, Spencer and Toennies argue that all societies in all spheres of life pass through similar stages of development, moving from less complex, less differentiated stages to more complex and differentiated stages. Predictions of the future are based on readings of the past which see societies developing in a linear fashion. 'Mankind' and 'history' were therefore treated as unities. According to Smith evolutionists subscribed to the following:

- " - Holism - studying the whole unit rather than its parts,
- Universalism - change is natural, universal, perpetual and ubiquitous and requires no explanation,
- Potentiality - change is inherent and endogenous in the unit undergoing change,
- Directionality - change is progressive,

- Determinism - change is inevitable and irreversible for all units,
- Gradualism - change is continuous, cumulative growth,
- Reductionism - ' laws of succession' are uniform and the basic topic of change is everywhere the same."¹¹

Evolutionary theories oversimplified social change by saying that all societies inevitably pass through the same set of fixed stages. All societies are, therefore, the same and will react similarly to social change, which is inevitable. If the idea of a unilinear evolution is still applicable today, one can then ask why undertake further research on social change. Change in all communities will be the same and can, therefore, be predicted beforehand, as well as the management of change. However, in the analysis of social change in Bredasdorp, it is important that the researcher be aware of other communities where similar mechanisms are applicable. For instance, the analysis of the impact of projects such as nuclear power stations on a given community, can provide a researcher with valuable information in the study of social change. But, it is not possible to claim categorically that the impact the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility, will have on the community, will be the same as the impact brought about by a nuclear power station. Every community is unique and will therefore react differently to change. For that reason evolutionary theories in this study, have a limited use.

CONFLICT THEORIES

Tension and conflict between groups and individuals depict social behaviour. Change, an intrinsic process and not order, is the essential element of social life. Marx in Vago¹² postulated that every society rests

on a economic foundation. Social institutions are dependant on economic relations of production, which cause conflict. Economic conflict inevitably leads to social and political conflict that will cause societies to change. For Coser in Vago¹³ on the other hand, conflict is seen as a creative force that stimulates change in society. Dahrendorf again, saw conflict as a problem of unequal authority in all sectors of society. Social mobility and responses of the agents of social control will determine the intensity of conflict. Social organizations and societies are held together by constraint and not consensus. Conflict is controlled through compromise.

In the evolutionary theories societies develop from less complex to complex. Conflict theory argues that societies change as a result of technological and economic development. Conflict arises when there is an imbalance in a society, which causes communities to change. In the case of Bredasdorp, technological and economical development have been introduced and it is likely that their impact, as explained by conflict theorists, will probably emerge as contradictions in the community. Social mobility, among members of the community is another contributing factor. Conflict theories are primarily intended as a critique for capitalist development, rather than providing an alternative for it.¹² Bredasdorp is agricultural rural area with limited class consciousness therefore conditions as prescribed by Marx for conflict are minimal. This theory in the development of Bredasdorp has therefore limited use.

STRUCTURAL - FUNCTIONAL THEORIES

"Structure refers to a system with relatively enduring patterns and function refers to the dynamic process within the structure."¹⁵ Societies

strive to be stable. Stability and change in society are complementary processes. Through dynamic processes of adjustment the state of equilibrium will be maintained. This implies that change, a fundamentally slow process, is the consequence of adjustment of changes.

Talcott Parsons can be seen as the most influential theorist of the social structure concept. Neil Smelser followed Parsons and identified seven sequential steps where the reorganization of roles leads to structural differentiation with the social system."¹⁶ This process of structural differentiation includes the following:

- " - adaptation, or securing and distributing the means of survival from the environment;
- goal attainment, or determining, ordering, and facilitating the attainment of the goals of the social system;
- integration, or securing cooperative and coordinated social relationships within the system; and
- latency, which includes pattern maintenance involving the motivation of desired behaviour and tension management involving the control of strains and tensions."¹⁷

The structural-functional theory provides a framework for analyzing the functions of systems. Structural-functionalism opposes evolutionary theories in the study of the parts rather than the whole. The maintenance of equilibrium leads to change within the society. This is contrary to the position held by conflict theory which maintains that conflict changes a community. However, the structural-functional theories model of equilibrium is relevant to the organismic systems and, therefore, relates to the evolutionary theories. The main critique of structural-functionalism,

is the overemphasizing of stability and equilibrium in societies. The concept of equilibrium had to be developed to be applicable for social structures. This led to the development of the systems theory.

SYSTEMS THEORY

Buckley defined a system as follows:

"A system is viewed as an organized whole or unit that includes the interactions of its interdependent component parts and its relationships to the environment."¹⁸ Hall and Fagan in Wilson et al define the concept system as follows: "A system is a set of objects together with the relationship between the objects and between their attributes."¹⁹ The Oxford Dictionary states that a system is a "complex whole, set of connected things or parts, organized body of material or immaterial things." If one wants to study the Bredasdorp region as a system, one must observe not only structure but process - not only the technological factors - not only the 'closed organization but also its interaction with its environment.'

Systems theory, for the first time in the development of theories on social change, distinguishes between the particular nature or relations of the parts. Theorists now have a psycho-social perspective against the organismic perspective of evolutionism and structural-functionalism.

With the systematic approach the holistic view is most important, even though stronger emphasis is placed on some special concepts.²⁰ The key to substantial differences in systems lies in the way they are organized, in the particular mechanisms and dynamics of the interrelations among the parts and with the environment."²¹ Every system develops an organization.

Information is closely connected with the concept of organization and Buckley concludes that '... in a real sense, information can represent structure or organization, and thus can preserve it, transmit it over space, time and change it.'²²

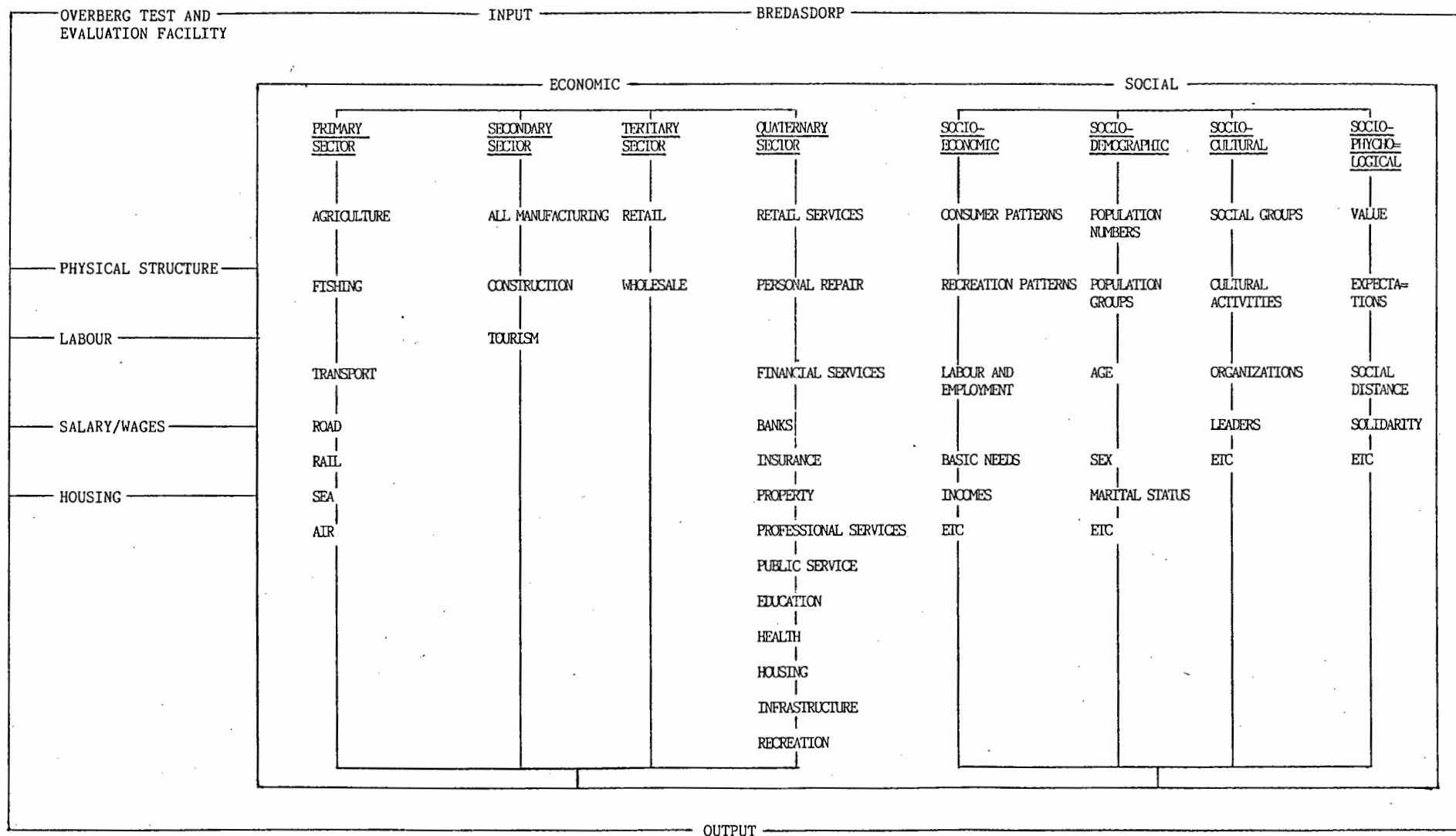
The relation of parts of society are primarily psychic, involving complex communicative processes of information exchange.²³ For information exchange the word feedback is utilized, which is a core concept of cybernetics.²⁴ Feedback refers to information return and may be positive or negative. Feedback occurs in open systems. A system can be regarded as an open system when it adapts and changes. Closed systems on the other hand are disorganized. Feedback according to Karl W Deutch, "... is a more sophisticated notion than the simple mechanical notion of equilibrium, and it promises to become a more powerful tool in the social sciences than the traditional equilibrium analysis."²⁵ Deutch further explains the concept of feedback by suggesting that, information from the past, and information about itself is necessary for self-direction of a socio-cultural system.²⁶ This implies that a system is goal-seeking, conscious, perceptive and adaptive.

Every part of the system is so related to every other part that a change in a particular part causes a change in all the other parts and in the total system. This indicates that systems are interdependent and in interaction with one another.²⁷ The systems theory provides a useful approach for social change in that "... only the modern systems approach promises to get a full complexity of the interacting phenomena - to see not only the causes acting on the phenomena under study, the possible consequences of the phenomena, and the possible mutual interactions of some of these factors,

but also see the total emergent processes as a function of possible positive and/or negative feedbacks mediated by the selective decisions, or 'choices', of the individuals and groups directly or indirectly involved."²⁸

Systems theory provides a definite 'theoretical framework for the analysis of social change in Bredasdorp. The analysis of the development system of Bredasdorp is shown in Figure 4.

FIGURE 4: THE DEVELOPMENT SYSTEM OF BREDASDORP



SOURCE: ADAPTED FROM FABRICIUS., M., "AN OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH ASSOCIATED WITH DEVELOPMENT PLANNING." HSRC WORKSHOP: PARTNERSHIP IN DEVELOPMENT PLANNING, GRABOUW, 3 NOVEMBER 1987

The introduction of the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility is a direct input into the community of Bredasdorp. It is not only an input on a local level but also on a regional and national level. This direct input of the Facility can be described in terms of the physical structure, economy (prices and employment) and housing. This leads to an input into the community in terms of the economic and social structures. The community now has to adapt as a result of the input, if it is an open system. This adaptation leads to an output which can be regarded as social change.

Through systems analysis the input can be calculated. Pasqualini identified four indications of the quality of urban development, namely:

- Natural environment: geography, climate, disasters and environmental nuisances;
- Economic factors: income, employment, industrial activity and building activity;
- Social (or service) factors: health, education, welfare, safety and recreation;
- Spatial structure and other "settlement" factors: housing, transport, urban development, land tenure and cost, slums and squatter settlements.²⁹

Measurement of these different indicators and their effect on each other provide a basis for planning of change. Change can therefore be forecasted in terms of different systems and the management of the change process is therefore easier.

MECHANISMS OF CHANGE

Mechanisms of change can also be described as the causes of change. It is virtually impossible to isolate one single factor as the cause of social change. Mechanisms such as technology, politics, and economy are interrelated with ideology, conflict and competition. Several conditions at a given time rather constitutes change. Conditions can also be described as either necessary, sufficient, alternative or contributory to change.

The Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility can be regarded as an economic development project. Advanced technology in the weapon industry led to the development of a Test and Evaluation Facility. For the purpose of this study technology and economy will then be discussed as mechanisms of change. Migration as a result of this development will also be looked at.

TECHNOLOGY

Throughout history technological innovations have often been a moving force of social change. Technology is invented daily to supplement man's existence. Technology creates new alternatives and opportunities in societies. Technological advancement in the weapons industry is propelled by the need for modern weapons such as missiles. To achieve this goal the weapons industry had to develop more modern weapons. This created an opportunity to implement the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility. As for Dr Reinhardt of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) notes: "The fundamental and rapidly increasing role of technology in everyday life and business has become self-evident. In some circles

concern has been expressed about the speed at which technological change is taking place. Rapid change has become more and more a competitive factor in the modern business world. One can assume that the smaller, technologically advanced industries will not find the expanded Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vaal Triangle (PWV) area particularly attractive and could locate in less urbanized areas. They will certainly not need large numbers of unskilled labourers and will not locate in overcrowded homelands. These industries will therefor do very little to alleviate the unemployment situation in the metropolitan areas or the homelands."³⁰

The Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility is introduced in an agricultural based community. The existing economic base of the community will undergo change as a result of this technology and this is likely to affect the total community. Skilled workers will be brought in to the area, while unskilled labourers will be obtained from the existing workforce. The unemployment rate as well as per capita income of people will no doubt benefit from this technological development. According to Mesthane in Vago,³¹ technological advance creates a new opportunity to achieve some desired goal, this requires alterations in social organizations, which implies that existing social structures will have to adapt. Technology influences the function of the system as a whole.

ECONOMY

Economic forces influence all aspects of life in a society, and have long been considered as a principal force of social change. Today technology and economic development go hand-in-hand. An important aspect of economy is division of labour. Technology demands specialization. Half of the jobs created by the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility are for trained

specialists. Increased differentiation in the economic sphere in turn, brings about increased differentiation in social stratification patterns.³² Roukens de Lange postulates that the growth rate of the GDP in South Africa has been considerably higher than that of employment and this has resulted in a decrease of employment per million rand of GDP (in 1984 rand values) from 170 in 1950 to about 80 in 1980. This is a clear effect of changing technology which has resulted in less employment intensive industrial and commercial method of operation. At the same time economy has become increasingly capital intensive. This has resulted in a higher growth rate in demand for skilled than unskilled manpower due to the increasing complexity of technology and of economic systems.³³

When technological and economic development occurs, new opportunities are created, as in the case of the introduction of the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility. Stouffer in Jansen proposes that the number of new opportunities is proportional to the number of people that will move to the new development.³⁴ This process can be described as migration, where migration is defined as the act of moving to a new district³⁵, or "migration is a relatively permanent moving away of a collectively, called migrants, from one geographical location to another, preceded by decision-making on the part of a hierarchically ordered set of values or valued ends and resulting in the interactional system of migrants."³⁶

An important aspect of migration is the push-pull theory. "Selectivity of out-migrants from any community tends to vary directly with the strength of attractive "pulls" from other communities and inversely with expulsive "pushes" from the community itself."³⁷ In the case of Bredasdorp the natural environment (peaceful rural town, close to the sea) attracted people from a metropolitan environment. The unattractive environment and

better job opportunities, provided for the push factor. Migration is therefore a sense of economic, social and political stimuli within the environment.^{38,39}

The development at Bredasdorp can be seen as part of the latest regional development strategy of the South African Government. In South Africa, early decentralization policy pre-dates the formal articulation of growth centre policy. However, over time, the rhetoric accompanying the policy has tended to link more and more with internationally accepted spatial development models. This became clear in the National Physical Development Plan where reference was made to problems of overconcentration and rural de-population experienced in other parts of the world and where for the first time, the terms 'growth pole' and 'growth centre' were used to refer to decentralization points.⁴⁰ State strategy on (industrial) development is of course always at least in part a reaction to population distribution and migration patterns at the time of implementation. Industrial development strategies also form but part of state action and policies which affects the geographical distribution of population. Furthermore, state intervention is but one of several factors associated with migration. For these reasons it is therefore extremely difficult if not impossible to establish causal relations between migration/settlement patterns and development strategies. It should further be noted that significant changes had from time-to-time been affected in the industrial development strategy. During the sixties the emphasis had been on the promotion of industrial development on the borders of emerging Black National States. During the seventies this emphasis was augmented by limitations on industrial expansions in major urban areas combined with the promotion of industrial development within such emerging Black States. As from the beginning of the eighties the emphasis has shifted towards a regional

development strategy based on assessed priority of needs.

The latest variant of the state strategy on industrial decentralization may have some effect on the pattern of urbanization, since urban areas outside the major metropolitan areas showing significant gains in population are by and large areas around industrial development points. It is significant that such areas often show in-migration not only of blacks but in particular also of whites as well as in some cases coloureds.⁴¹

Although Bredasdorp was never identified as a 'growth' centre, there are similarities between developments of the early growth centre policies.

Pourcher identified several reasons for migration such as:

- wish for promotion;
- assigned, nominated transfer;
- marriage, and motives independent of mover;
- family and housing reasons;
- education, and
- desire for change.⁴²

A series of generalizations concerning internal migration differentials were postulated by Beshers and Nishuira and were as follows:

- young adults are the most mobile segment of the population;
- males tend to be more migratory than females;
- unemployed persons are more likely to move than unemployed persons;
- whites move more than non-whites;
- professionals are among the most mobile elements of the population.⁴³

In the case of Bredasdorp the in-migrants were mainly white, young

professionals (trained specialists specifically required). These immigrants desired the change from their previous environment and nominated transfer and promotion played definite roles in the decision to move.

Migration leads to an influx of new people in a community. Migration therefore contributes to changes in the community in terms of increased population, increased demands on existing community services as well as for new ones, and social adjustments to new and diverse immigrant groups.⁴⁴

CHANGES ASSOCIATED WITH MIGRATION

DEMOGRAPHIC

Three general factors influence the demographic impact in a community namely: the characteristic of the development project (Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility); the characteristic of the local area (Bredasdorp); and the characteristics of the project related immigrants.⁴⁵

Factors influencing the characteristics of the project are:

- location of the project;
- direct employment by the project;
- indirect employment associated by the project;
- the developers' employment policies; and
- the length of the project's construction and operational phase.

Of the most important area characteristics, are the level of development of local community service and organizational structures, preferences of existing residents and skill level and availability of the local labour force. In terms of the project related immigrants it is important to have

information on marital status, age, sex, family size, age of dependants and preferences. The availability of the abovementioned information plays an important part in impact assessment.

ECONOMIC

Employment patterns as a whole are affected by development projects. Two phases normally occur, namely; the construction phase, and its subsequent operation, where the employment rate is substantially higher than the operational work force. In addition to the employment created by the development project, increased economic activity in various trade and service sectors of the local economy is stimulated. This is referred to as secondary employment⁴⁶.

The introduction of a new project in a community causes new purchasing power, which in turn demands more products and services. There is then a cycle of spending and respending, which has a multiplier effect on the local income and employment.⁴⁷ To determine the employment multiplier is an intricate process and specific information on the nature of the project and characteristics of the direct worker are needed. Several studies warn, however, that the economic multiplier can be overestimated.^{48,49} Sparsely populated areas with poorly developed trade and service sectors are expected to have smaller multipliers than areas with more diversified economies.

Further development projects result in changes of the income of the area, in terms of increased revenues, cost increase, increased competition for firms, price level changes and also changes in agriculture and other basic industries.⁵⁰

LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS AND COMMUNITY SERVICES

Economic development generally implies large capital expenditures for sewer and water reticulation and school and health systems. Local government expenditures and revenues are affected. Rapid growth from the influx of newcomers to small communities breaks down the old social structures. Warren postulates that change "includes the increasing orientation of local community units towards extra-community systems of which they are a part, with a corresponding decline in community cohesion and autonomy."⁵¹ Some of the major changes identified are the following:

- communities become more culturally diverse as new people bring new ideas;
- diversity means that towns become less provincial and isolated;
- as responsibilities of community institutions increase more people are brought in to run these institutions, which leads to professionalism;
- the belief that bigger is better;
- centralization; and
- a higher demand of social institutions.

These changes add up to the process of urbanization.⁵² This is an indication that communities are made up of people, and it is people who constitute change.

Economic and demographic impacts are relatively easy to measure. So is the measurement of changes occurring in schools, health and social services, local business organizations, local government and churches. Measuring changes in people's values and institutional patterns are more difficult.

The consequences of migration at an individual level are overwhelming concerned with the migrant's process of assimilation into a new community. The assimilation of the migrant into the receiving community, according to Germani, involves three, often interrelated, processes:

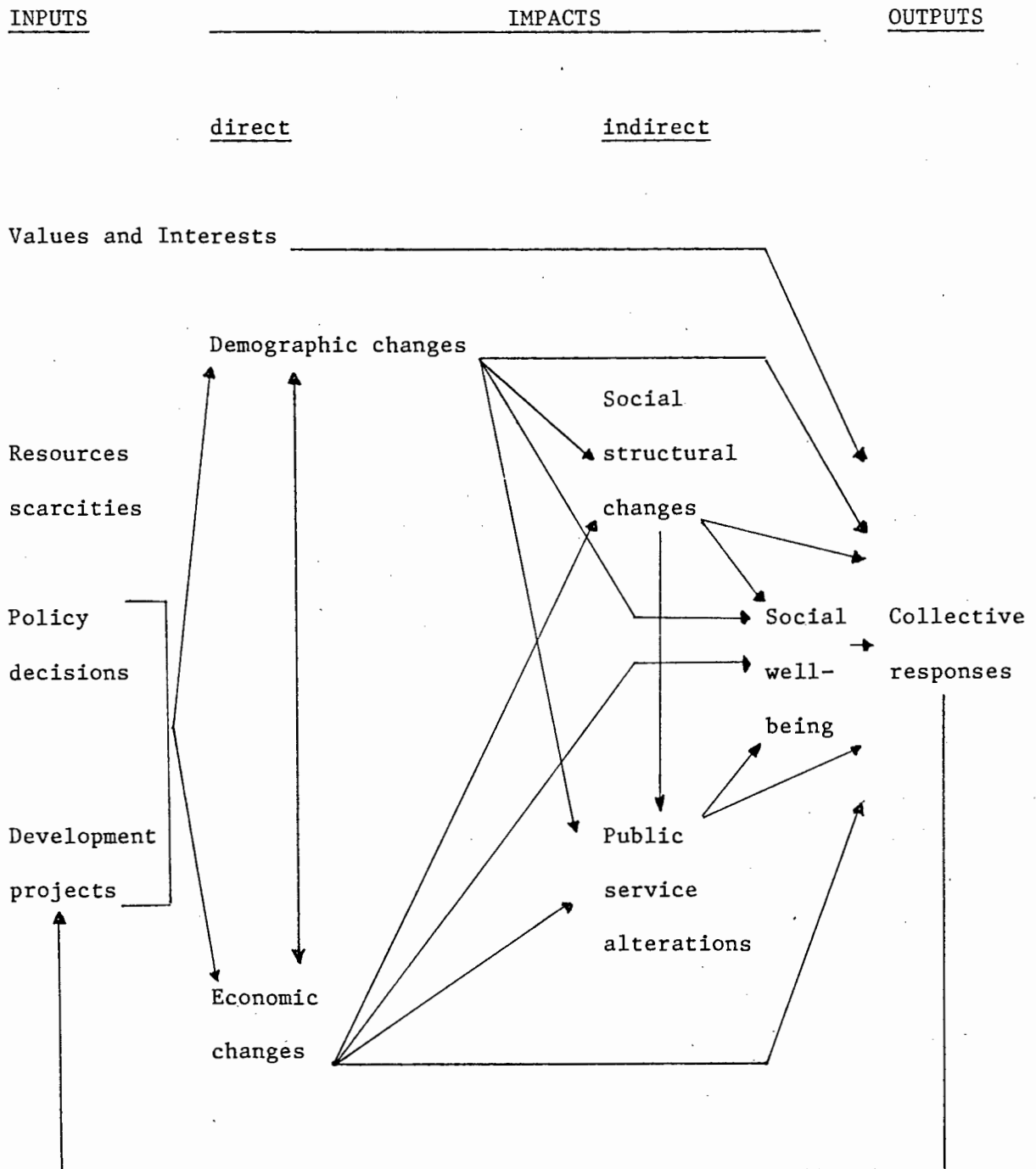
- " a. adjustment - 'the manner in which the migrant is able to perform his rôles in the various spheres of activity in which he participates'
- b. participation - 'how many and in which rôles (he is) performing within the institutions, social groups, and various sections of the host community'
- c. occulturation - 'the process (and the degree) of acquisition and learning by the migrant ways of behaviour (including rôles, habits, attitudes, values, knowledge) of the receiving society.'"⁵³

However, Cortese in Weber et al argues that "growth and economic development is always positive, and that the only negative consequences of growth result from 'poor management'".⁵⁴

MANAGING SOCIAL CHANGE

In order to manage social change as a result of economic development projects, it is of utmost importance that an impact analysis be made of the situation. Impact analysis includes the demographic and economic impacts that are interrelated and leads to fiscal and social impacts. Olsen and Mervin in Finsterbusch used the systems approach to derive an impact model (Figure 5)⁵⁵ presented below:

FIGURE 5 : GENERAL SOCIAL IMPACT MODEL



The value of impact assessment according to the systems approach, is that it makes it possible to identify the areas where social change is likely to occur. Identification of possible problems and needs lead to management. The management of social change through community development ensures that the affected community is involved in the management process.

The United Nations defines community development as "the process by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of governmental authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate these communities with the life of the nation and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress."^{56,57} This definition implies that community development is a scientific process, that includes problem/needs identification, determining of priorities, planning, implementation of evaluation.⁵⁸ Community development evolves around people. The people of Bredasdorp, old and new, who are affected by the establishment of the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility must be involved in the solving of their own problems. The assimilation of the migrants into the receiving community have to be dealt with by the people themselves. However, the growth of the town will also involve government departments. Funds to expand water reticulation and sewerage, schools and the upliftment of the central business district have to be obtained from Government. Without this definite needed input from Government in the early stages of establishment, the change process can be influenced negatively.

The aim of community development is to better the living conditions of people at four levels, namely: economic, physical, social and political levels. The introduction of an economic development project, implies economic development of the community. The economic development should also lead to development on physical, social and political level. This

indicates that community development is an integrated process, as well as a multi-disciplinary approach. All sectors affected by the change have to work together to manage the change positively.

Weber and Howell argued that three approaches can be used in the community development process, namely: locality development where the local community utilize outside resources to manage growth and its own destiny; social planning, where a strategy is developed to plan for and utilize the new community services; and social action where the actual plan is implemented.⁵⁹ The emphasis of these strategies are to strengthen community leadership and organization so that growth can effectively be controlled at local level. The positive management of social change in a community will lead to positive impacts on the life of the community and its environs.

CONCLUSION

Theories on social change developed from evolutionary theories, where an organismic view of development of societies from a lower order to a higher order is postulated, through to conflict theories, where conflict is seen as the major force of change. Structural-functionalism emphasizes the maintenance of equilibrium in community. The systems approach compared to the others adopts a more human approach to social change with its emphasis of the various parts forming the integrated whole. The parts/systems in a community are related to each other and through communication processes, communities adapt to social change. The systems theory also provides a framework for the analysis of social change in communities, which leads to the management of change.

Change in communities is a result of technological and economic development. New innovations create new job opportunities for people. This leads to an influx of people into an established community. Migration affects the demography, economy and local services organizations of existing communities. The existing community has to accommodate these changes. Community development as a process can be regarded as an effective way of managing social change in a community, in that it emphasises the involvement of the community and is an integrated multi-disciplinary approach.

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CHAPTER IV

METHOD, FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATIONS

This chapter describes briefly the method used to study Bredasdorp and the social change thereof. Accordingly primary and secondary data sources are illustrated. Following the explication of the method used, the Chapter focuses mainly on the findings and interpretation of data obtained. It should be mentioned in this regard, that the limitation of this method is that less than fifty respondents were interviewed, for the primary data. The reason among others being that the introduction of the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility is relatively recent for any meaningful evaluation of its impact to be undertaken. Be that as it may, a few indepth interviews with certain key informants in the community can help indicate whether or not there has been change in the areas studied.

It was necessary to obtain relevant information in order to establish if social change occurred at all in Bredasdorp. This information was gathered in two ways, namely:

- by interviewing people of the Bredasdorp community for primary data; and by using statistical and pertinent information obtained from different reports, as secondary data to support the primary data.

This study therefore, is described as a descriptive study. A descriptive study is classified as observations which a researcher makes directly and

then subsequently described according to his perception of the characteristics of the data or their relationships.¹

As the descriptive survey method deals with a situation that demands the technique of observation as the principal means of collecting the data, the researcher had to answer certain questions, namely:

What information is needed?;
from who must it be obtained?; and
how must it be obtained?

Quantitative information was needed from the Bredasdorp community. Bredasdorp presently consists of old and new inhabitants. From this community, qualitative data as to how people perceived their community and change occurring, was established. The best way to obtain this information was by means of in-depth interviewing. As the emphasis was on qualitative information rather than quantitative information, the researcher adopted a phenomenological approach. The phenomenological approach allows the researcher to observe the community's perceptions of the situation and their motivations. Exceptions are revealed through probing.² A research schedule was developed by the researcher to ensure that the variables specific to the study, would be elicited. (See Interview Schedule Appendix 1). The style of interviewing was such that respondents were asked open-ended questions on the variables studied and encouraged to develop their views at length. Interviewers using this method are free to choose when and how to put their questions and how much to explore and probe, all the time keeping within the framework imposed by the topics to be covered.³

SAMPLING

A stratified sampling method was used to select the thirty respondents interviewed. "Stratified sampling ensured proper representation of the stratification variables to enhance representation of other variables related to them."⁴ An extensive list of opinion-makers, such as priests, headmasters, local authority employees, representatives of the Chamber of Commerce and Service Organizations, lawyers and medical doctors was obtained. And this list included non-opinion makers. It was drawn with the help of the headmaster of the local primary school, who as an established member of the Bredasdorp community could provide valuable information about old and new residents in town. Further, a member of the Town Council and the local Chamber of Commerce were consulted. Out of this list, thirty respondents who were available for interviewing, were selected randomly. Of the 30 respondents, 17 were old inhabitants and 13 newcomers. Old inhabitants were people who had been living in Bredasdorp at least five years and over before the implementation of the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility.

TABLE 3ANALYSIS OF OLD-INHABITANTS INTERVIEWED

OCCUPATION	RACE	SEX	AGE
1. Medical doctor	white	male	60+
2. Headmaster	white	male	35+
3. Manager Co-op	white	male	50+
4. Lawyer, Town Council	white	male	40+
5. Headmaster	coloured	male	35+
6. Retired businessman	white	male	65+
7. Housewife	white	female	50+
8. Accountant	white	male	50+
9. Teacher	coloured	female	50+
10. Reporter	white	female	50+
11. Chairman: Regional Development Association	white	male	55+
12. Retired local authority employee	white	male	65+
13. Businessman	white	male	30+
14. Headmaster, Management Committee	coloured	male	60+
15. Housewife, Chairlady Service Organization	white	female	50+
16. Lawyer, Chairman Chamber of Commerce	white	male	40+
17. Tourism Officer	white	female	50+

As shown in Table 3 the majority of the old inhabitants are skilled professionals who are in the middle class to higher income levels of a society. The majority of these people are also active in the community life of Bredasdorp by participating on different committees. Three of the old inhabitants were coloured. Twelve men and 5 women were interviewed. The ages of the respondents varied from 30 years to 65+ years.

The newcomers were people who moved to Bredasdorp since the implementation of the overberg Test and Evaluation Facility and are to a great extent directly involved with the implementation of this Facility.

TABLE 4

ANALYSIS OF NEWCOMERS INTERVIEWED

OCCUPATION	RACE	SEX	AGE
1. Armscor employee	white	male	30+
2. Teacher	white	female	30+
3. Airforce employee	white	male	40+
4. Housewife, social worker	white	female	40+
5. Housewife	white	female	40+
6. Teacher	white	female	30+
7. Airforce employee	white	male	30+
8. Armscor employee	white	male	35+
9. Housewife	white	female	30+
10. Clergyman	white	male	40+
11. Teacher	white	female	35+
12. Armscor employee	white	male	40+
13. Housewife	white	female	40+

As shown in Table 4 the majority of the newcomers are skilled professionals who represent the middle class levels of a society. All the respondents interviewed were white. This is due to the fact that half of the job opportunities created by Armscor and the South African Airforce are for highly trained specialists, who at this time in the South African context as a result of Apartheid policies would be white people. Seven women and six men were interviewed. The ages of the respondents varied from 30 to 45

years and were therefore generally younger than the majority of the old inhabitants.

The in-depth interviews were conducted in the language spoken by the respondent, as the researcher is fully bilingual, and elicited information in the areas of:

1. Perceived attitudes about the community
2. Demographic information
3. Perceived changes brought about by the introduction of the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility in terms of economy, community facilities and social patterns.

For the secondary data, quantitative data from different resources were obtained to support the qualitative data. The Bredasdorp Municipality supplied information on their local expenditure, housing shortage, new licences allocated, rates and taxes, and the future townplanning of Bredasdorp. Information on the possible impact that the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility has and will have on the education facilities, were supplied by all the headmaster of the various schools. Employment related statistics were supplied by Armscor and the South African Airforce. Further the Hey Commission Report was used for this information. The possible influence of the Facility on the community was obtained from various service and culture organizations as well as the major churches.

All the quantitative data were obtained either through official letters to various institutions and departments or through interviews with representatives of organizations.

FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATIONS

The findings reported here are views of respondents sampled as well as the secondary data available on the topic investigated.

DESCRIPTION OF BREDASDORP

To determine characteristics of Bredasdorp, respondents were asked to describe life, in general, in Bredasdorp.

All the respondents described Bredasdorp as quiet, peaceful and rural. Indicating thus, that Bredasdorp could not be classified as a metropolitan area. The old inhabitants added more to the character by indicating that the events that led to the founding of Bredasdorp (isolation from church and other means) confirms still today the traditional way in which life is conducted. It is still regarded as a farming community and activities of the town are orientated around it. The isolation of the town, removed from metropolitan areas and links, resulted in the tradition that Bredasdorp people had to find solutions for their problems within themselves. This suggests that the community can be described as a closed community. As one of the old inhabitants said: 'If you are not born and bred in Bredasdorp, people regarded you as an outsider until you've proved that you are part of them, then they will accept you forever.'

Newcomers also highlighted aspects such as the natural environment, as positive elements, that make life desirable in a community. As the majority of new people originated from metropolitan environments where scenic environment is diminished as a result of urban development, the natural environment of Bredasdorp constituted a positive "pull" factor. The

newcomers also indicated that they all came willingly to Bredasdorp. Therefore, one can say that the general characteristics of a quiet, peaceful and rural town appealed to them just as much as it appealed to the old community.

DEMOGRAPHIC IMPACT

The construction and implementation of the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility started in 1984. Construction of the Facility will go through till mid-1988 and implementation will be an on-going process. As a result of the implementation of the Facility respondents claim new job opportunities were created. This in turn, enabled a demographic increase to the existing Bredasdorp population.

The old inhabitants of Bredasdorp, when asked whether they observed any increase in the number of people in Bredasdorp, all agreed that there had been an increase in the number of people that had moved into the area. They expressed this in the following manner:

- " ... an enormous amount of new people have moved in ..."
- " ... one does not know all the faces in town anymore ..."
- " ... the streets are fuller and there's not enough parking areas ..."
- " ... as one enters the town, one can see the major new development on the righthand-side ..."
- " ... our community facilities are now used to its full capacity ..."
- " ... even our beaches are full ..."
- " ... the primary school, particularly, has grown ..."

For the old inhabitants, in general, the demographic increase is related more on the impact that it had on the community and not so much on the

number of people who moved in. The issue of an increase in the number of people that have moved into the community is more pressing to certain groups like the managers of certain institutions, the Town Clerk, town planners, business owners, medical personnel and headmasters, as they are involved in the general management of the possible impact of the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility.

Demography, per se, is concerned with studying the changes in the number and types of people residing in a given geographic area over a period of time. For future planning it is essential that detailed and accurate statistics are continually analysed regarding the size of the population, its composition by sex, age and other characteristics which differentiate one population group from another; its rate of growth; the rate and pattern of urbanization; the spatial distribution of the population and the extent to which it is engaged in various branches of economic activity. Statistics, therefore, are valuable as a tool for studying populations mainly because they enable one to give a needed quantitative dimension to demography.⁵

Demographic growth in Bredasdorp it would seem, was generated by the implementation of the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility. A short term growth of \pm 2000 people occurred during the construction phase. Long term or permanent growth was induced via new job opportunities created by Armscor and the South African Airforce. It was possible for these two organizations to influence the number of job opportunities created. However, specific information concerning age, marital status and number of children needed to forecast the demographic growth, was not available beforehand due to the "top secret" classification of this project. This information only became available once an employee was contracted.

Employment, however, only started in 1984 and will go through till 1988.

Notwithstanding the paucity of information, simple calculations can be arrived at, if the following assumptions are taken into account:

1. that half of the jobs created by Armscor will be filled by people from outside the Bredasdorp area (in-migrants);⁶
2. that new employees' ages are between 20 and 45 years;⁷ and
3. that the national norm for the Total Fertility Rate is 2.1.⁸

Given these assumptions, therefore, the following calculation is pertinent.

The Overberg Facility presently operates with

165	Armscor employees recruited from outside Bredasdorp.
+150	South African Airforce employees recruited from outside Bredasdorp
<u>315</u>	Total new employees from outside

If 75% of all new employees are married, the following calculations can be made:

236	75% of 315 new employees are married
X 2	
<u>471</u>	

+472	Assuming every couple has two children (Total Fertility Rate of 2.1)
<u>944</u>	

<u>944</u>	Total number of people that will be added to the community
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In this connection it is proper to consider, on a more extended scale, the concept of the economic multiplier. This refers to the number of jobs that are created, indirectly, as a result of the implementation of the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility. This could indicate a further demographic growth. As said before, the determination of the economic multiplier is an intricate process that requires specific information such as levels and location of basic employment and service employment.

Different models exist to determine the economic multiplier.⁹ The specific information to determine an economic multiplier for Bredasdorp, however, was not available. Armscor, however, estimates an economic multiplier, nationally, of 2,76 for their projects in general.¹⁰

If the abovementioned is taken into account, one can say without doubt that the total population of Bredasdorp will show a positive growth. Between 1000 - 2000 people will be added to the population in the long term. The white population, specifically, will benefit the most from this growth, in that the highly trained specialists needed for this project are mainly white. The growth of the white population will counter balance the negative growth of the last twenty years, as well as the ageing white community.

Demographic growth will continue to have an impact on the economy, services and social life of a community.

ECONOMIC IMPACT

Indications are that agriculture is the main occupation for the Bredasdorp district (23,77%), followed by services (16,12%) and commerce (11,01%). No dramatic changes to these employment structures are perceived by the old inhabitants although it was indicated that Bredasdorp, to a certain extent, will henceforth be less dependant on agriculture. The Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility can be classified under the manufacturing production. The present employment rate of 2,49% in this production category will, in long term, be affected directly by the Facility.¹¹ Commerce and services will be affected indirectly as a result of the economic multiplier.

The increase of business in Bredasdorp has been confirmed by the majority of the old inhabitants. According to them the town is now more viable. More business licences have been allocated by the Municipality in the last four years than previously. Specifically, there has been an increase in general dealers, cafés and restaurants, home industries, motor dealers and garages and building related industries. The growth of building related industries is a direct result of the construction phase of the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility, and will, therefore, only have a short term impact on the community. In other words once the construction phase has been completed, the viability of several building related industries in the long term are questionable.

Although the old inhabitants, in general, are satisfied with business in Bredasdorp, the new inhabitants have different opinions. The in-migrants originate mainly from metropolitan areas, where big shopping complexes provide variety and choice. The responses of the female newcomers were valuable here, in that the majority of shopping for every day use, are mainly done by women. New inhabitants who have only been part of Bredasdorp for a short period (one year and less), perceived the shopping facilities to be inadequate and prices of consumer articles to be expensive. They overcome this problem by shopping in Cape Town on a regular basis. However, shopping in Bredasdorp is not a problem for all the newcomers. Half of these respondents have indicated that not all consumer prices are more than in the city, and, if one takes fuel and time into account, it does not pay to shop in Cape Town. The respondents also indicated that if one is willing to adapt shopping patterns according to what is locally available (shopping more regularly and using all the different shops instead of just one), one could find comparable prices. The local shopowners are aware of the complaints about variety and prices,

but have indicated that one must take into account the fact that owners of shops in rural areas cannot compete with large chainstores as a result of smaller buying power. To them, the fact that some people use the more economical facilities in the metropolitan areas is not a major problem.

Dewar et al, underlines these findings by saying that a factor contributing to urbanization economies is social infrastructure: particularly shopping facilities, entertainment, health and education facilities and housing. These facilities are to a large extent lacking in growth centres, and the most important implication of this is a difficulty in recruiting technical and managerial staff. Thus, again, is a function of a lack of adequate threshold in particular a lack of 'luxury' level purchasing power. The response has been to make use of facilities in nearby large towns and metropolitan areas.¹² Also, price of consumer goods is higher in growth centres than in metropolitan areas. This is partly because of higher transport costs and partly because of low volume of purchasing power in these smaller towns allows the establishment of monopolies, with consequent higher prices.¹³

Another economic impact perceived by the community was that of an increase in salaries and wages; specifically for the coloured community. The majority of the old inhabitants especially those involved in the economic sector highlighted this as a positive factor. Salaries and wages paid by Armscor, in general, are higher than that of any other production unit in Bredasdorp. Benefits such as housing subsidies, medical aid and pension funds are also provided. An element of conflict and competition arose.

" ... if you wanted to keep a good work force, you had to adjust salaries and wages, although the general economic sectors are too small to provide

all the benefits ... "

" ... for the first time one can now say that people are paid more decent salaries, although some people say it is outrageous ... "

This in addition was also beneficial to the unemployment rate of Bredasdorp. Half of the job opportunities created by Armscor are for administrative personnel such as typists, security guards and cleaners. These people were mainly drawn from the local old inhabitants. Specifically for the coloured unskilled professions, Armscor provided an opportunity of better employment perspectives. If the local production branches could not compete with Armscor at the time, it would certainly create a new opportunity for another unemployed person at a time.

The influx of new people created a housing need in the white community specifically. Although empty plots within the existing residential areas were bought up, the supply could still not meet the demand. Up to 300 housing units had to be erected. All the old inhabitants indicated that this had led to an increase in house and land prices. As existing property owners they do not really benefit from this increase, as they have no need to sell their properties. The majority of the newcomers indicated that house prices were higher than that of the metropolitan areas, and, consequently, resulted in a drop in living standards. Mass housing, however, has little variety and choice, and the personal touch is diminished. On the other hand, to the Air Force personnel, the housing in Bredasdorp is a positive change to the military housing that they were used to.

The old inhabitants, especially the three coloured respondents indicated

that Armscor's policy of housing subsidies for all their employees, would benefit the coloured community specifically people who previously could not afford their own houses, would now be able to build their own homes. Somewhat 50 homes were built for coloured employees of Armscor. This contributed positively to the high demand for more houses in the area. Along with this, the Management Committee of the Bredasdorp Municipality launched a very successful self-build housing scheme through the Department of Local Government and Housing, House of Representatives. One hundred and seventy houses were approved for the first phase and 137 houses for the second phase.

As a result of the extension of the town, the Bredasdorp Municipality had to extend and upgrade services, such as water reticulation, sewer and electricity. The estimated cost of these extensions was R5 000 000. Taxes and services fees were raised by the Bredasdorp Municipality. All the respondents indicated that the high taxes and service fees are a negative impact. The old inhabitants particularly have indicated that the ordinary man in the street did not benefit at all. One must also take into account that a high number of pensioners reside in Bredasdorp. A raise in taxes and service fees led, directly, to a drop in living standards. The newcomers, on the other hand, indicated that taxes and service fees are more than that of the metropolitan areas. "For each Government unit the difference between expenditures necessary to provide a specified level of service and expected revenues, is identified as net fiscal balance. Negative net fiscal balances indicate that local taxes or fees would need to be raised in order for the Government to provide the same level of service; alternatively, they imply that, if raised taxes and fees are not forthcoming, local residents may expect a decline in service levels."¹⁴ Dewar et al indicates that the cost of providing social and physical

infrastructure is higher in the small towns than in metropolitan areas. This is particularly the case where services have to be provided de novo. Where the cost of providing services is passed onto the consumer, workers rents and service charges are usually considerably higher than in metropolitan areas.¹⁵

IMPACT ON COMMUNITY FACILITIES

The population growth resulting from a large scale development such as the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility, may have a marked impact on the quantity and quality, and forms of community service delivery in a rural area. As with other types of impact, these may be either positive or negative.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Apart from the economic/fiscal impact experienced by the Municipality, professional people can also identify other impacts. Before the implementation of the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility, Bredasdorp stagnated. Major changes, in terms of infrastructure, were not envisaged. Demographic growth called for goal-orientated planning of expansion. No town can manage demographic growth in a disorderly fashion. Town planners for Bredasdorp were appointed, with the task of developing a guide plan for future planning. This guide plan, a first for Bredasdorp, would enable local government to give structure to the town's future. Aspects such as residential extensions, extensions to the central business district, transport and recreational facilities were looked at (See Map C). The availability of a guide plan enables the community to manage the physical changes in a community in a more orderly way.

EDUCATION

The increase of school enrolment at the Bredasdorp Primary School has been highlighted by all the old inhabitants as the specific sector where demographic change can be measured. Their schools have always been an important aspect of community life. This growth also stressed the fact that young people have moved into their community, which is regarded as a positive factor.

Since the announcement of the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility, 177 children were added to the school population of the Bredasdorp Primary School. A change for schools that showed a definite decrease since 1978. Presently 411 children are enrolled in this primary school (Sub A to Std 5).

This increase had the following effects:

- 6 classrooms were added;
- 5 teachers were appointed;
- administrative staff increased;
- 2 English classes (Sub A to Std 1, Std 2 to Std 5) were established (Teaching medium is Afrikaans);
- Practical facilities for science, woodwork, needlework, art and music are inadequate;
- Remedial teaching facilities are non-existent;
- existing sport facilities cannot fulfil the need. More children participating in sport (rugby, cricket and netbal) affected league participation;
- existing transport facilities that were shared with the high school are now inadequate;
- extra-mural activities such as ballet, a computer club, Voortrekkers,

a percussion band, karate and folk dancing were established.

The newcomers, in general, had a positive attitude about the school, and had an understanding for the problems that the primary schools encounter. The main criticism is about the facilities for English-speaking children.

" ... we would have preferred a school for English children, but we have to adapt according to the availability."

A lack of variety of extra-mural activities was also identified as negative.

Larger schools in metropolitan areas can provide a wider variety of extra-mural activities, than rural schools. However, parents felt that the environment made up for lack of recreational facilities for children.

" - the openness of the town allows a child to explore his environment;
 - nature is now more important than television;
 - my children can do their own thing. Now I don't have to drive them around;
 - the smaller environment enables a child to have more friends to play with."

Pre-primary school facilities before the establishment of the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility were provided by the A.C.V.V. One teacher was appointed by this private welfare organization. Since then, another pre-primary teacher has been appointed by the Cape Educational Department. Forty-five children are presently accommodated with a waiting list of 20. Newcomers from the Transvaal metropolitan areas are used to pre-school education supplied by the Transvaal Education Department. This will lead to a future demand on pre-school facilities. Specialized crèche and after-school care facilities have been identified as further needs.

The Bredasdorp High School did not show a significant marginal increase of pupils. However, the primary school is the main feeder for the high school. Therefore, the high school in the near future will experience basically the same problems as the primary school. Choice of subject has been isolated by all the newcomers as the major problem envisaged. As a result of small numbers (200 pupils) it is not possible for the school to offer a variety of subjects. However, the Napier High School, approximately 17 km away from Bredasdorp, offers exactly the same subjects as its neighbouring school.

It would seem that the coloured schools have not been affected by the introduction of the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility. The reason for this lack of increasing numbers in coloured schools is that workers employed for the facility are mainly white.

HEALTH SERVICES

The Health Services provided by the Divisional Council of Bredasdorp/Swellendam, Otto du Plessis Provincial Hospital, District Surgeon and private general Practitioners are regarded by all the respondents as sufficient. Health facilities are also provided on site of the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility where minor injuries and complaints are taken care of. Minor ailments are referred to local health services and in the case of the South African Airforce all cases in need of specialized care are referred to 2 Military Hospital in Wynberg. Additions and alterations to the Otto du Plessis Hospital can now be made possible as a result of the demographic increase. It was also possible to recruit a part-time radiographer from the newcomers, a position previously vacant.

RELIGION

Demographic growth also affected religious activities in the area. Various other denominations (other than the Dutch Reformed Church and Anglican Church) are represented amongst the newcomers. The Dutch Reformed Church particularly is considering the extension of their pastoral services. Newcomers and other religions have identified the lack of religious facilities as a problem.

CULTURE AND SPORT ORGANIZATIONS

Bredasdorp is rich with culture and sport organizations. All newcomers indicated a high level of satisfaction with the variety and standard of facilities. In becoming part of these organizations, newcomers in general feel that they have become part of the town. The old inhabitants also regard these facilities as a way to incorporate the new people in the general life of Bredasdorp. All the culture, service and sport organizations have had an increase in membership. The majority of the old inhabitants regard this as positive and indicated further that new life and new ideas were brought about by this increase.

A negative aspect that has been identified by a small number of old inhabitants, is the loss of valuable coastal area. Previously this coastal area had been used primarily by anglers. The implementation of the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility resulted in the expropriation of these areas, and have since become "no go" areas. Old inhabitants who have used the areas in the past, regard this as a definite decrease in the quality of life.

SOCIAL IMPACT

"Large-scale developments are likely to alter the way in which persons in rural areas relate to one another, to change existing organizations and institutions, to change leadership and other status arrangements in rural communities, to decrease the levels of social control and the quality of life, and to create conflict between new residents and longtime residents in affected areas."¹⁶

To measure social impact is not easy, due to the fact that one has to do with people. However, the common denominator for both the old inhabitants and the newcomers is the character of the town. As indicated before, all respondents regarded life in Bredasdorp to be suitable for them and their families. The rural character of a quiet, peaceful and friendly community generates an atmosphere of acceptance. The natural environment adds to this atmosphere. Newcomers, specifically, have indicated that they all wanted to live in Bredasdorp, and, therefore, see themselves as a part of Bredasdorp. The old inhabitants expressed very positive attitudes towards the newcomers.

"... they are our kind of people ..."

This positive attitude from both sides provides a climate for adaptation, where the two groups both have to give and take. This aspect of adaptation from both sides has been stressed by all the respondents. To them it is important that all groups must adjust. The fact that newcomers are contributing to the social life of Bredasdorp by joining various social institutions, constitute a willingness to become part of it. The old inhabitants in general feel that this willingness to be part of the area brought about new ideas and concepts that will bring new life to the town.

However, some of the newcomers have indicated that it is very difficult for them to really become part of Bredasdorp, as they are kept at a distance. The saying that "you are only regarded as a true Bredasdorp person if you were born and bred there" becomes true. An aspect that adds to this difficulty to become part of, is the fact that the majority of newcomers live apart from the old community. New residential extensions were established for new residents as there was not enough land available in the existing residential areas. This then creates an atmosphere of an "Armcor/South African Airforce" town, separate from the old community. All the respondents remarked about this separate development as a negative impact. However, the respondents felt that if a person wanted to become part of the community, one would make the effort to become part. Separate development should, therefore, not be regarded as an excuse not to become part of the community.

Du Toit et al indicates that once the initial period of dependence on their fellow migrants passes, the great categories of peasant life - "villagers" versus "outsiders" - are inverted and ultimately obliterated through participation in urban life. Kinship and friendship ties are expanded beyond the migrant group in an effort to better manipulate urban economic resources and urban geographical separation and socioeconomic differences transform traditional attitudes towards social interaction.¹⁷

The increase in crime, drug abuse and prostitution has been expressed by all the old inhabitants as a disturbing negative impact. To the coloured respondents particularly this problem was highlighted as some of their people were "victims" of this social behaviour. The contract phase resulted in an influx of single black men. Blacks in general are unknown to the community as the majority of the population were coloured and white. Crime

rates, according to the local enforcement body, have more than doubled in the last three years. Whether a change will occur after the completion of the construction, remains to be seen.

In response to the question whether newcomers had an effect on race relations, the abovementioned increase of crime rates was related to negative attitudes. However, the older respondents felt that race relations in Bredasdorp had always been good. Factors such as higher salaries and better housing will contribute further.

"Is Bredasdorp going to change characteristically?" remains the question to be answered. All old inhabitants felt strongly that although the town showed a demographic increase, "... Bredasdorp will remain a rural town, with its character ...". This indicates that the people of Bredasdorp value life in Bredasdorp and are positive about its future. However, Murdock et al, postulates that "... large-scale developments may also alter the ways in which residents view their community and its characteristics. Although persons in rural areas often have very high levels of satisfaction with their communities and community services and strongly value environmental conservation and presentation, they also clearly desire development. As development proceeds, however, respondents come to have a less favourable but more realistic appraisal. They come to see that the major benefits of development are an increased economic and demographic growth, but that many social and service impacts may be more negative than anticipated."¹⁸

17. Du Toit, M., Safa, H.I., ed., Migration and Urbanization, The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1975, p 241.
18. Ibid, p 189.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Impact projection of the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility on Bredasdorp in the early stages were never attempted by either Armscor and the South African Airforce or by any government institution or research institution. The Hey Commission's main task was to study the possible environmental impacts the Facility would have on the area and to make recommendations accordingly. In its report, the Hey Commission merely predicted that the introduction of the Facility will have a demographic effect on the Bredasdorp community. In return it will lead to changes in the economic sector and will create new demands on existing community services.

The Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility Project is classified as "Top Secret" as a result of its military importance to South Africa. This classification meant that valuable information relating to the people associated with this project could not be made available. A project's direct employment requirements, are perhaps the largest single determinant of population growth. Both the size and the skill characteristics of the required labour force are important. Furthermore "a project's potential to produce secondary employment also plays a role in the determination of impacts. Demographic impact is determined not only by the direct employment requirements of the facility, but also by the employment required to provide services to the direct employees. Although a larger proportion of indirect workers is likely to come from the local population

than is true of direct workers, the extent of such secondary or multiplier effects may be substantial and require extensive immigration."¹

Limited information was made available on request by Armscor and the South African Airforce only after implementation started in 1984. This indicated that the essential aspects of planning according to available statistics was probably not accessible for all the parties involved. Fragmented planning occurred between the local authority and Armscor. The other participants such as education, service organizations and churches were never involved in joint planning sessions. All the different systems in the Bredasdorp community needed some information to plan and act accordingly at some stage of the implementation. The local authority was able to plan for extension of services according to the number of new houses required. This resulted it is claimed in an overexpenditure of the annual budget source, which in return was turned down by the Department of Treasury.

The local primary school experienced a similar problem when projected increase of pupils lead to a request for increase of staff and classrooms. The Cape Education Department was only willing to act once the number of pupils have increased marginally. Situations like these created a negative atmosphere amongst managers of the different systems, and influenced their feelings about the implementation of the Facility negatively.

Notwithstanding the paucity of employment related statistics, it can be said that the introduction of the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility in the Bredasdorp region in 1984, had definite measurable impacts on the Bredasdorp community at this early stage.

Weber postulated that "... comparisons of longtime residents to migrants reveal that migrants to such developments - like migrants in general - are positively selected on the basis of age, education and income ... The demographic effects of migrants, then, are likely to be evident in an increased number of young adults in the area, higher area incomes, higher level of education, ... and a more highly skilled area work force. Although their social impacts and their service impacts may be less positive, in terms of the demographic vitality of the population, impact-related population growth is likely to improve the long-term outlook for the population base of the area."²

The Bredasdorp Magisterial District definitely showed slow growth of the population over the last twenty years before the establishment of the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility. In 1980 the population of the district was 16 676 and this was mainly made up of coloureds (72%) and whites (25%). The white population particularly showed a negative growth. In 1980 the 64+ age group of whites accounted for 17,4% of the Bredasdorp district's population, which is 9,59% higher than the figure for the Republic of South Africa. The coloured population in contrast is a much younger developing population. The introduction of the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility specifically addressed the ageing white community of Bredasdorp. To date, up to 450 new jobs were created by Armscor and the South African Airforce. Half of these jobs are filled by people from outside the Bredasdorp area. Due to the specialization of these jobs, the in-migrants are mainly white and in the 20-45 age group. The 1985 census, only one year after the introduction of the Facility, already shows an increase in the population as a whole. Specifically, the white population showed a decrease over the last twenty years, increased steadily by 253 people. However, if the demographic and economic multiplier is taken into

account, it is estimated that up to 2 000 people will be added to the Bredasdorp community in the long term.

The Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility will contribute positively to an increase in the manufacturing sector. Although the Facility will not manufacture per se, it is the only production unit where this Facility can be associated with. Bredasdorp is a rural area with agriculture as its main base. Employment of economically active people is closely related to that of the production sectors of the area. Commerce and services followed agriculture as the main occupation. The economic multiplier associated with the implementation of the Facility will also effect employment in the commerce and service sectors. These increases indicate that Bredasdorp as a whole would be less dependable on agriculture for employment.

Bredasdorp experienced a definite growth of local businesses as a result of the laws of supply and demand. According to Weber et al, " ... The one group of longtime residents who are most often expected to benefit from rapid growth are local business people ... The advantages can be summarized quite simply: if there are more people and more dollars in town, there can often be more businesses as well."³ The local authority showed a definite increase of business licenses since 1984.

An increase of income in general occurred as a result of the implementation of the Facility. Armscor not only provided better salary wages to all employees but also medical aid, pension funds and housing subsidies. This created an element of conflict and competition with the local employees. In order to maintain a good work force, salaries and wages had to be adjusted in Bredasdorp, which have implications for a better standard of living. Specifically, the coloured people benefited from these increases.

Murdock et al postulate that "... it appears that local workers who obtain employment at new energy projects experience substantial increases in their incomes and the effect of most projects will be to increase average per capita income levels in the site area ..."⁴

A housing need was created as a result of the influx of new people to the area. The housing need stimulated property prices and also created new jobs during the construction phase. Up to 300 housing units had to be provided by 1987. The majority of these housing units were for white project related in-migrants and approximately 50 housing units were for coloured employees of Armscor benefitting from the housing subsidy policy of Armscor. The housing need as well as the growth in the business sector created an atmosphere for the local authority to draw up a guide plan for the expansion of Bredasdorp. Aspects such as residential expansion, extension of the central business district and parking and recreational facilities were looked at. This guide plan provided the local authority with a systemic management approach to physical development of the town.

Residential expansion obviously leads to an extension of services, such as water reticulation, sewerage and electricity to accommodate the demographic growth. Local taxes and service fees were raised in order to provide these services, and money was borrowed by the local authority, as alternatives for capital improvements. Local residents, therefore, did not benefit economically from this demographic growth; specifically, the elderly people who live on a fixed income are negatively affected by the increase in the cost of living. "It is important to recognize the importance of the financial needs of the community ... Financing the public expenditures may be constrained by uncertainty ... that may limit the ability of the local governments to finance public projects through bond issues by lowering the

bond rating and increasing the costs to the community."⁵

The community facilities before the introduction of the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility, were apparently sufficient for the white community's needs. A demographic increase of the white community resulted in a higher demand for these facilities. However, community facilities for the coloured community, in comparison with that of the white community are either of a lower quantity (and quality) or non-existent. The new guide plan for Bredasdorp as well as the implementation of the Tricameral System will hopefully address these community needs of the coloured community. Further, as a majority of the in-migrant whites are representative of the younger age groups, an increase in educational facilities was observed. The local primary school enrolment, for example, doubled and led to an increase of staff and classrooms. A higher demand for pre-primary school facilities was also experienced, although the high school did not manifest a major growth in pupils, the growth in the primary school will inevitably have long term effects. Subjects choices of high school pupils will be affected positively by this growth, as the present number of pupils does not warrant a variety of subject choices.

In terms of health facilities, it can be said that " ... the strategy for improving health care in small communities, includes the organization and operation of an effective ambulance service, providing emergency medical training and self-care training, utilizing the services of nursing practitioners and technicians, establishing a network of close working relationships with physicians and hospitals in nearby cities."⁶

Health facilities consequently were organized accordingly, mainly in Bredasdorp but as well as in Cape Town. The community in general is statisfied with the quality of health services.

Bredasdorp originated from the Dutch Reformed Church in 1838. The church played an important part in the maintenance of the town throughout the years. The Dutch Reformed Church and Dutch Reformed Mission Church as well as the Anglican Church were the main church groups represented before the introduction of the Facility. The demographic growth resulted in an increased number of church members, as well as an inter-denominational variety. "Churches are a valuable and as yet under-utilized support system for helping people cope with the stresses of rapid growth, in that they provide a forum for the integration of newcomers and the resolution of conflict."⁷

A wide variety of service, culture and sport organizations are represented in Bredasdorp, especially amongst the white community. Apart from religious related activities, these organizations created an atmosphere for becoming an integral part of the town and its people. The newcomers showed a keen interest in these organizations, which were regarded by the longtime residents as a positive aspect. Old inhabitants in general felt that the introduction of new ideas and concepts made these organizations more viable. The quiet, peaceful and rural character of the town remained, as the migrants also value these characteristics. A general appreciation of the natural environment contributed to the positiveness of the town. More English-speaking people have moved into a predominantly Afrikaans-speaking community. This is not regarded as a negative impact by the existing community.

Race relations in Bredasdorp have been described as positive, but research indicated that the increase of the crime rate resulted in negative attitudes towards non-whites. The construction phase brought about up to 2 000 single construction workers. Single quarters for men normally pose

problems of a socio-sexual nature, a situation caused by the absence of women and normal procedures/practices of socializing. However, accompanying females resulted in prostitution and drug abuse. The crime rate of Bredasdorp more than doubled and led to an increase in law enforcement personnel. Freudenburg in Weber et al postulated that "... according to law enforcement personnel in impact communities, for example, increased crime rates are, generally not just the result of newcomers' misbehaviours, but often also reflect increased criminal activity among longtime residents. It is also possible that newcomers have different behaviours and experiences in rapid growth communities than those same persons would have had elsewhere, and the changes are thus the result of characteristics of the communities in addition to or instead of characteristics of the individuals themselves."⁸ In this aspect it must be noted that construction workers also form part of the in-migrants although just for a small period of time.

Sentiments such as the loss of coastal areas has been described by some of the respondents as a definite decrease in the quality of life as they had used this coastal area where the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility were implemented, extensively for recreational purposes. This area is now a restricted area. Some of the fishing communities also had to be relocated as a result of the implementation of the Facility. The questions still remains: "Why here?" and "Weren't there another area, not used by people, suitable for the implementation of this Facility?" However, the national importance of this Facility outweighs those negative impacts; and the introduction of the Facility will contribute positively to socio-economic standards of the region, as well as the conservation of a valuable coastline, if Armscor and the South African Airforce comply with the regulations set aside by the Hey Committee.

Wellings and Black indicated that problems/limitations that are experienced in growth point development in the bantustans are:

- Fiscal constraints - each decentralized job represents a total investment (direct and infrastructural) of between R60 000 - R100 000 per job, approximately four times its metropolitan equivalent;
- Labour - availability of cheap labour are plentiful;
- Infrastructure is minimal;
- Distance from suppliers and markets;
- Management problems - key personnel (trained specialists) had to be 'imported', a housing shortage were created and service was inadequate as opposed to metropolitan areas;
- Bureaucratic problems;
- Political problems;
- Other such as agglomeration economies and linkages, housing shortages and land ownership.⁹

Problems experienced by Bredasdorp and The Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility can be related to these problems experienced in bantustans.

In sum, the following changes in the Bredasdorp community can be identified:

1. A demographic increase of the Bredasdorp population;
2. An economic growth;
3. Community facilities and services had to be extended to accommodate the demographic growth;
4. Bredasdorp, despite the demographic increase, can still be regarded as a quiet, peaceful rural town;

5. The socio-economic standards of the region have improved and will continue to be so as a result of the introduction of the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility.

IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL SERVICE PROVISION

The Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility provided for an economic and social input in the Bredasdorp community. In order to manage the input positively, certain outputs had to be made by human service managers on an economic and social level. On the economic level the input of a physical structure, labour needs, salary/wage adjustments and housing needs affected the secondary sector and quaternary sector specifically. The construction phase as well as the implementation phase (secondary sector) indicated changes in the quaternary sector on different levels, namely:

- property increased;
- housing needs had to be fulfilled;
- infrastructure had to be adapted accordingly;
- education needs arised;
- recreational needs arised;
- a greater need for professional services such as health services;
- and public services had to adjust.

On the social level the following resulted of the input:

- socio-economically, consumer patterns of newcomers had to adjust labour and employment availability changes as a result of a new reliable employer and income of the labour force had to adjust to meet the new demands;

- socio-demographically the population numbers increased and the stagnating white community were boosted;
- socially the newcomers were incorporated in existing organizations and new ideas and leaders were introduced to the old community;
- socio-psychological adjustments will occur as new values and expectations arise for new social groups.

For the social service managers of local authorities, churches, schools, welfare organizations, culture and sport organizations, it is important to be aware of the different outputs that have to be made. A question that can arise:

- who are the people that are immigrating into the community?

This question indicates the social stratification of new people, that would determine what type of changes can be expected. Permanent workers normally have a more stable family life and more involved in community activities, as opposed to construction workers that move frequently.

In the case of Bredasdorp the construction phase brought about certain social welfare problems that are associated with construction workers.

- Child and family related problems arose. New cases were reported to the local welfare organization (ACVV) of child abuse, alcohol and marital problems. The local primary school also reported a higher failure rate of construction worker children as opposed to other children of more stable families. Juvenile delinquency also occurred.

- Crime rates increased as a result of prostitution, drug abuse and illegal alcohol selling.

The permanent in-migrants to Bredasdorp are all of a middle and higher class stratification. This indicates a high standard of living as opposed to construction workers, and placed a demand on existing services to incorporate the new needs that arose.

It is, however, important that the adjustments according to the new input in a community, do not occur in isolation. Feedback must be maintained through communication between the different social service managers. The management of change through community development presupposes the following:

- a multi-disciplinary approach which means that all systems affected, will participate in the management process;
- the community, therefore, will take responsibility for its own problems;
- the efforts of the community will be linked with Government, in order to manage change;
- if a multi-disciplinary approach is used; physical, economic, social and political development of the community will be addressed.

In the Bredasdorp context, a multi-disciplinary co-ordinating structure for all racial groups would include the following:

- participants of the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility;
- local authority;
- education;
- health;

- economy;
- religion;
- welfare organizations;
- service and culture organizations;
- sport organizations; and
- relevant Government departments.

The aim of such a structure would be to monitor and help indicate change within community using their own, as well as outside resources in order to utilize outside resources such as Government departments effectively, a co-ordinating structure has to be recognized by the community and Government departments. A militaristic development project such as the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility is of national importance. Therefore, Government departments should be made aware of the possible negative impacts that may occur and should assist affecting communities. This imply that normal bureaucratic red tape must be minimized. Ordinary rules and regulations will have to be adjusted, so that positive development can occur. If the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility is of such importance to the Government, why was the Treasury- and Education Department, for example, not warned beforehand that applications for extension of services in Bredasdorp need to be reviewed with special interest? This would create an atmosphere of understanding the specific problems of the affected community that will lead to effective management of these communities and the Government departments. The Department of Development Planning can play an important co-ordinating function in development projects.

In order for this process to occur, it is important that all information needed to forecast the impact is provided beforehand, by the participants

of the development project. This would lead to systematic impact analysis that would assist both the local communities and Government bodies in managing the process of change, effectively.

In the South African context, such an impact assessment and management model is presently not available. Different professionals should get together in order to derive an impact assessment model that incorporates physical, economic and social development. The one sector should not be emphasised more than the other. Various development projects have occurred in the past and it is necessary to extrapolate from these projects in order to develop a management model for major development projects. The aim of such an impact analysis and management model is not to dictate to communities how to manage change, but to provide guidelines for the local communities and Government bodies. Such a model would minimize the possible negative impact of a major development project and would effect national stability in the long term. Research done by the University of Port Elizabeth on the Mosgas project at Mossel Bay could perhaps provide such a model for future reference in the South African context.

For the Bredasdorp community it is important that on-going research is conducted in order to forecast and manage the change effectively. Such research should be part of the co-ordinating task. Research then becomes part of the process of development.

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APPENDIX

INTERVIEW SCHEDULEIDENTIFIABLE PARTICULARS

Name:

Sex:

Age:

Religion:

Employment status:.....

How long have you been living in Bredasdorp?:

The purpose of this interview is to establish the possible impact, if any of the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility on the Bredasdorp community. We would ask you general questions about Bredasdorp as you see it today.

QUESTION 1

How would you describe life in Bredasdorp?

PROBE RESPONSES. FOR NEWCOMERS PROBE ON PRECONCEPTIONS OF BREDASDORP BEFORE COMING TO BREDASDORP.

QUESTION 2

What do you particularly like about Bredasdorp?

PROBE RESPONSES.

QUESTION 3

Has there been an increase of the number of people in the town over the last four years?

PROBE RESPONSES.

QUESTION 4

What advantages/disadvantages have you seen to the town as a result of the establishment of the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility?

PROBE RESPONSES IN TERMS OF ECONOMY, COMMUNITY SERVICES AND FACILITIES AND SOCIAL LIFE.

QUESTION 5

What do you think about the establishment of the Overberg Test and Evaluation Facility?

PROBE RESPONSES.

QUESTION 6

What has been the effect of the Facility on race relations to the town?

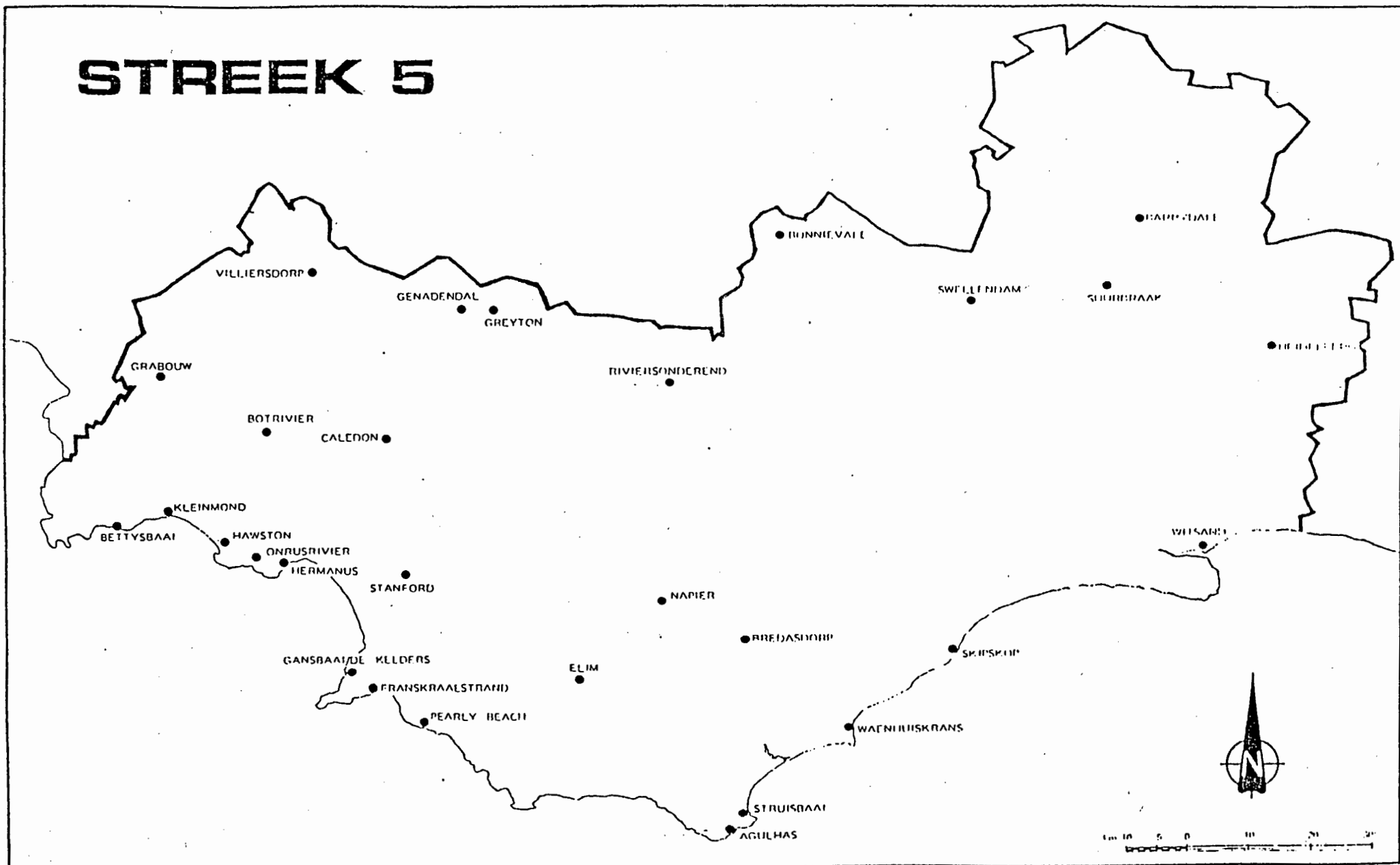
PROBE RESPONSES.




QUESTION 7

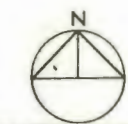
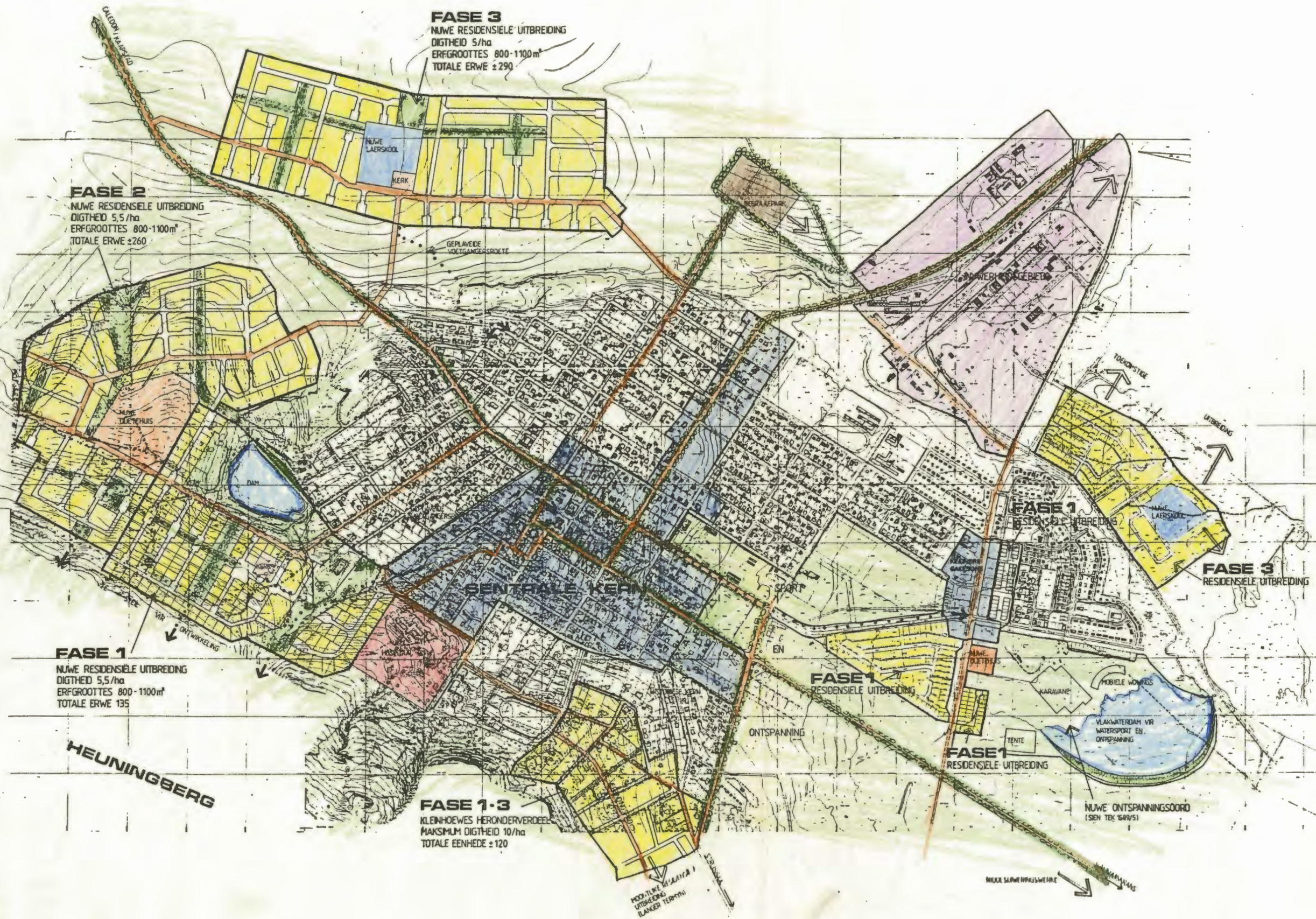
Do you see yourself as an integral part of Bredasdorp's future?

PROBE RESPONSES.

STREEK 5



-  VERKEERSVERSPREIDERS
-  HOOPPAAL
-  GEPLANEDE VOETGANGERSROETES



PROJECT NO.	1589	PROJECT NAME	BREDASDORP STRUKTUURPLAN
DATE	1989	SCALE	1:5000
DESIGNED BY	DENNIS MOSS	DATE	OKT '86
CHECKED BY	DE KLERK	DATE	
APPROVED BY		DATE	
REVISIONS		DATE	
		DATE	
		DATE	
		DATE	
		DATE	

DENNIS MOSS VENNOOTSKAP/PARTNERSHIP
 DE KLERK
 MOORE MALHERBE
 ARCHITECTS URBAN PLANNERS

BREDASDORP STRUKTUURPLAN
MUNISIPALITEIT BREDASDORP
 RESIDENSIELE UITBREIDING EN
 ANDER OORHOOFSE STRUKTUUR
 ELEMENTE

PROJECT NO.	1589	PROJECT NAME	BREDASDORP STRUKTUURPLAN
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